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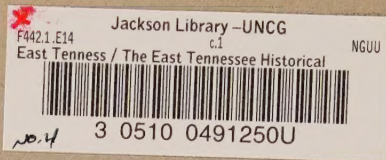
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EAST TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
KNOXVILLE, TENN.



MANAGING EDITOR

PHILIP M. HAMER

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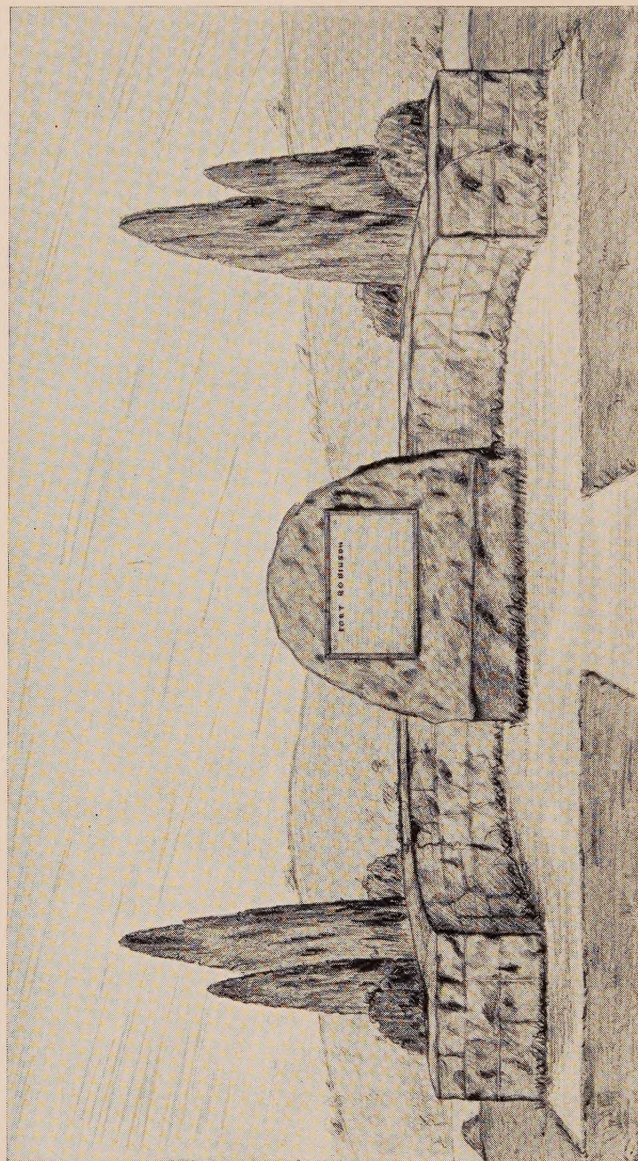
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VIRGINIA AND THE CHEROKEE INDIAN TRADE, 1673-1752

By W. NEIL FRANKLIN

Before the copper-colored aborigines of North America ever came into contact with men whose skins were lighter than their own, they well understood the meaning of commerce. Warrior traded with warrior; village traded with village; tribe traded with tribe.¹ When the explorers of the sixteenth century put in at points all along the Atlantic seaboard they almost invariably exchanged with the natives trinkets and valuables for furs and skins. With the establishment in 1607 of England's first permanent American settlement, that of Jamestown in Virginia, trade with the Indians began in earnest. For many years this was probably the most lucrative occupation in the colony. The early trade was conducted for the most part by boats which plied the waters of tidewater Virginia, of Chesapeake Bay, and, to a less extent, of the regions farther north.² But as the sequel proved, this coastal commerce was but a passing phase; as more and more colonists came to the shores of the Chesapeake the Indians along the coast withdrew into the interior, and colonial shipping found greater profits in other channels. By the middle of the seventeenth century Virginia's Indian trade had practically deserted the seaways and was advancing inland across the piedmont, assuming aspects which were to characterize it for the remainder of the colonial period.

Not even the early trade had been entirely dependent upon the use of vessels. From the beginning there were times when

¹James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report, Washington, 1900), part 1, p. 235.

²Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, 1906, 2 vols.), *passim*; Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (Boston and New York, 1890, 2 vols.), *passim*.

the supply of food ran low in the red man's wigwam; then it was that he anxiously sought out the white colonist, purchasing from him life-sustaining grain at the cost even of parting with the dressed skins with which he clothed himself.³ But generally it was the white trader who might have been seen making his way among the Indian towns nearest the plantations, disposing of knives and beads and cloth for beaver pelts and deer skins. The natives wanted more, too, than knives and beads and cloth; they wanted what the whites had demonstrated were far superior to their own bows and arrows, namely, firearms. And so in time they acquired not only possession, but the use, of firearms, as the Virginians learned to their horror in 1622 and again in 1644, when red waves of destruction threatened to overwhelm the colony.

The first massacre taught the lesson of preparedness, but only with the second was its need indelibly impressed upon the mind of Virginia. In 1645-46 the colonial assembly ordered the erection of forts along the fall line, which was, speaking generally, assumed to be the boundary between the country of the white man and that of the native. Should the Indians desire to trade, they were at liberty to visit the fort nearest them,⁴ and doubtless there was a deal of such trafficking. As to whether or not the white trader could pursue his calling among the red villages, the law is by no means clear, but that the white trader did do so, there is no reason to doubt. In fact, so many men of ill character entered the trade that the assembly in 1661 deemed it wise to confine all traffic with the natives to those persons obtaining licenses from the governor.⁵ Much of this widespread interest in the Indian trade must have sprung directly from the activities revolving about the fall line forts, and about one in particular, Fort Henry.

Erected in 1646 at the falls of the Appomattox River for the primary purpose of protecting Virginia's frontiers to the southwest, Fort Henry was placed under the charge of Colonel Abraham Wood,⁶ who made of this wilderness post a most important

³Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (Boston and New York, 1898), 227.

⁴William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large; being a collection of all the laws of Virginia* . . . (Richmond, 1819), I, 293-294, 315.

⁵*Ibid.*, II, 20.

⁶*Ibid.*, I, 315; Philip Alexander Bruce, *The Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York and London, 1910), II, 100-101.

center for exploration and Indian trade for at least a generation. Not without cause has Colonel Wood been dubbed "the Frontenac of Virginia."⁷ It is probable that individual traders had been working their way well into the interior for several years, but general knowledge of the remote regions was scanty, else the colonial assembly would not, in 1643, have so strongly encouraged southwestern discovery.⁸ At any rate, efforts toward trade and exploration—the one depending largely upon the other—remained individualistic until they felt the unifying touch of Abraham Wood.

The work of Wood is known only in part. In 1650, in company with the English merchant, Edward Bland, and a few others, the proprietor of Fort Henry made his way into the southwest as far as Occaneechi Island, located at the falls of the river Roanoke, in present Mecklenburg County, Virginia. Owing to the threatening attitude of the Indians, the party attempted to go no farther. However, if one reads between the lines of Bland's journal it seems clear enough that by the middle of the seventeenth century Virginia traders were operating rather extensively throughout this region, and that some, even then, had found their way into the Tuscarora towns still farther distant.⁹ As the years passed, this expanding southwest trade fell more and more into the hands of Colonel¹⁰ Wood, who doubtless believed that for whatever sums might be spent in the cause of exploration he would be repaid, tenfold, in profits accruing from traffic with new nations of red men. In time the parties of exploration sent out by Wood were probably scouring the distant southwest region, and it was one such party that made possible the beginning of trade relations with the great nation of the Cherokee.¹¹

⁷Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood in *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* (Cleveland, 1912), 34-43, sketch the remarkable career of a man about whom surprisingly little is known.

⁸Hening, *Statutes*, I, 262.

⁹Bland's journal is printed in Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 114-130.

¹⁰He was made a colonel in the Virginia militia in 1656, being promoted to the grade of major-general some time after 1663, *ibid.*, 41-42.

¹¹Coming from without the wilderness that lay west of Virginia's frontier, there appeared at the falls of the James a band of Indians known as Rickacheerians. It is quite possible that they sought the establishment of a trade with the Virginians (Edward Duffield Neill, *Virginia Carolorum* [Albany, 1886], 245), but the latter, with the assistance of the Pamunkeys, attacked the strangers, and although the allies were defeated, their opponents later withdrew. Some writers identify the Rickacheerians as Cherokee (e. g., James Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East* [Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* xxii, Washington, 1894], 28), while others see in

Two of Colonel Wood's employees, James Needham and the youthful Gabriel Arthur, left Fort Henry in May, 1673. Straight into the southwest they went, crossing the Roanoke at Occaneechi Island, and thence to the upper Yadkin. Swinging off to the right, they made their way through the beautiful Blue Ridge and Great Smoky mountains, and, clambering down the western slopes, came at length upon a Cherokee village perched on the bluffs alongside a stream whose waters probably flowed into those of the Tennessee. If, as indeed seems likely, Needham and Arthur were the first Englishmen to reach the land of the Cherokee, the latter had, however, for a long time been trading, at least intermittently, with the Spaniards of Florida. But the Spaniards had offended the mountain Indians; trade relations had come to an end; and the arrival of the Englishmen, though adventitious, was timely. Arthur elected to remain among the Cherokee, learning their language and making friends, while Needham was to report back to Fort Henry for instructions. Months passed; Arthur learned the language and made friends, but Needham, after acquainting Wood with news of the great discovery, was treacherously slain by an Occaneechi while on his way to rejoin Arthur. Then, when the latter was preparing to make the trip himself the Cherokee chieftain offered to accompany him. On the way, the hostile Occaneechi threatened to interrupt the party's progress; the chieftain and his warriors took to flight; but Arthur escaped all dangers and in June, 1674, appeared at Fort Henry. In July there arrived the chieftain and his warriors; these had, it seems, retreated back across the mountains, gone up the great valley beyond until they reached the headwaters of the James River, down which they had floated in a bark canoe as far as the Monacan Indian town, and from this they had travelled overland the few miles to Fort Henry.¹² At the fort the chieftain's party was accorded a glad welcome; happiness and merriment reigned for several days; then, when the chieftain felt it was time to return to his people, he promised Colonel Wood that he would come again "att ye

these Indians the Westo, who were prominent a little later in Carolina history (Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* [Durham, 1928], 6, 12).

¹²The Monacan Indian town was located not far above the site of Richmond (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, xxiv [1917-18], 121).

fall of ye leafe with a party that would not be fritted by ye way.''¹³

Whether the Cherokee chieftain meant to return to Fort Henry by way of the roundabout James River route, or to risk the Carolina piedmont is unknown, nor for that matter is it at all certain that he ever saw Abraham Wood again. There can, however, be little doubt that the journeys of Needham and Arthur marked the beginnings of Virginia's trade with the Cherokee, a trade which was to have important consequences, political as well as economic. For many years the trading path from Fort Henry into the southwest ran no farther than Occaneechi Island,¹⁴ but after 1676, when the Occaneechi were crushed by Nathaniel Bacon, of Rebellion fame, the path advanced across the rolling Carolina piedmont until it reached the Catawba country, lying along the Catawba River at about the present boundary between the Carolinas.¹⁵ Still farther went the path, until at last it found a terminus on the Savannah River, at the site of Augusta, Georgia.¹⁶ The relation between Indian trader and trading path was perhaps analagous to that between pioneer and road; before the latter in either case was well defined the former had blazed the way. So by the time the route to the Savannah was becoming well known, the pioneer trader had ventured westward beyond the Savannah terminus, skirted the southern Appalachians, and was driving sharp bargains with the Cherokee, already introduced to Englishmen through the efforts of Needham and Arthur.¹⁷ The route these latter two had followed to the Cherokee country seems to have been rejected in favor of the longer, but easier, path around the mountains.

Abraham Wood must have taken a keen interest in the promotion of the Cherokee traffic, although the part he played therein remains unknown. As the day of Wood drew to its close,¹⁸ that of William Byrd I was dawning. Just two years

¹³The information concerning the Needham-Arthur expedition is contained in a letter written by Wood to John Richards, August 22, 1674, and printed in Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 210-226.

¹⁴Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William* (Richmond, 1924), 65-66.

¹⁵J. S. Bassett, ed., *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd* (New York, 1901), pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁶Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, 38.

¹⁷Robert Beverley, *The History of Virginia* (reprint of the second revised London edition of 1722, Richmond, 1855), 59-60; Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd*, 184-185.

¹⁸The last reference to Wood which has been found is of 1680 (Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 43).

before Needham and Arthur tapped the Cherokee country, Byrd inherited a plantation at the falls of the James.¹⁹ Warehouses were soon erected, in which were stored the trading goods ordered from England—beads, cloths, kettles, guns, powder, shot²⁰—and also the peltry received in exchange, this consisting mostly of deer skins. Ere long Byrd was a worthy rival of Abraham Wood, and when the latter's long and strong grip upon Indian affairs was forever relaxed by death, the former drove forward until he came to enjoy admitted supremacy in Virginia's trade to the southwest. There were, to be sure, numerous individuals engaged in the Indian trade, but William Byrd I was the one great trader of his generation, towering head and shoulders above all the rest. It must have been impressive, indeed, to have witnessed the departure of one of his great caravans: a hundred horses heavily loaded with trading goods, and the valued cargo guarded by twelve or fifteen trusted servants.²¹ With tinkling bells it moved slowly off along the well named "Virginia traders' path"; through forests and clearings and streams; a halt at Catawba Town; more forests, more clearings, more streams; the Savannah crossed and the Georgia piedmont reached. Although direct evidence is lacking, part of the cargo must have been carried into the Cherokee nation for William Byrd was obviously not the type of trader who would let such a glittering prize as the mountain trade go ungarnered. Certain it is that there were at this time Virginians operating among the Cherokee,²² and that these men were connected in one way or another with the Byrd enterprise is by no means inconceivable.

Time was when Virginia had no rivals in her exploitation of the southwest trade.²³ But that time was past; the halcyon days were drawing to a close. For the first few years after the founding of Charles Town in 1670, the Virginia traders probably knew little more than that such a place existed, yet when the

¹⁹Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd*, pp. xv, xvii.

²⁰See the letters of Byrd, printed in *Va. Mag.*, vols. xxiv to xxviii.

²¹Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd*, p. xix.

²²"As early as 1690, Doherty, a trader from Virginia, had visited the Cherokees, and afterwards lived among them a number of years." J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee* (Charleston, 1853), 63. "According to his own affidavit, however, which he made in 1751, Doherty went into the Cherokee country in 1719" Mary U. Rothrock, in *East Tenn. Hist. Soc., Publications*, No. 1 (1929), 6.

²³If the Spaniards of Florida afforded any competition the English records reveal nothing of it.

success of the new colony was assured and rich profits were found to lie in the trade for skins and furs, the trading advance of the Carolinians was remarkably rapid. In 1673 their commissioners were negotiating with the Catawba; by 1690 the Cherokee trade had begun; in 1698 one trader even reached the Mississippi.²⁴ But Carolina found the most lucrative trade to lie with the Indians to the south and west, and although her traders occasionally visited the Cherokee, commerce with the red mountaineers remained until well after the turn of the century, comparatively speaking, insignificant.²⁵ Nevertheless, Virginians were then unable to trade with either the Catawba, the Cherokee, or the tribes of the Georgia piedmont without trespassing upon territory ascribed to Carolina by the royal charters of 1663 and 1665. At such trespass the Carolinians took offense; friction was generated; a clash was almost inevitable.

It came about in this wise. In the year 1707 two Virginia traders, Robert Hix and David Crawley, were operating among the Indians of western Carolina. Returning one day to the native village which they were using as a sort of headquarters, they found that a large number of deer-skins and trading goods belonging to them had been carried away by order of the Carolina government. Hastening to Charles Town, trader Hix was able, through smooth words and the judicious bestowal of gifts, to effect a restoration of some of the deer-skins, but the trading goods were withheld.²⁶ The Carolina legislature even refused to entertain Hix's petition for redress.²⁷ If there had been previous instances of this kind, Virginia had kept quiet; this time, at least, she did not. When the matter was brought before the Virginia council in the spring of 1708, feeling ran high. Letters of sharp protest were drawn up and sent, not only to Carolina,²⁸ but to England as well.²⁹ And then before the year

²⁴Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 13, 40, 46.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 41.

²⁶Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, class 5, vol. 1316, no. 41. This, and subsequent references to the Colonial Office Papers, are to the transcripts in the Library of Congress.

²⁷Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 155.

²⁸H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1925 to date), III (1705-1721), 177-178.

²⁹W. M. Sainsbury and J. W. Fortescue, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (London, 1860 to date), vol. for 1706-1708, pp. 765-766.

was out Carolina plunged ahead and enacted a law whereby all Virginia goods brought into the colony, and all skins taken out of the colony, should bear an imposition, which, in effect, would be prohibitive.³⁰ When the home government, with an eye toward the wider distribution of British manufactures, declared that Virginia's trade with the tribes to the southwest should not be molested³¹ Carolina, despite the plain wording of the order in council, decreed that all outsiders desiring to traffic with the Indians within her jurisdiction must first of all appear in Charles Town and apply for licenses.³² English officialdom frowned at this demonstration of disobedience; the colonial statute was, of course, disallowed.³³ But a wide ocean lay between the deeds of Westminster and the needs of the wilderness; these early Carolinians understood nullification in practice, if not in theory.³⁴ And so, if the Virginia trade was to rid itself of the Carolina incubus, strong, united action of some sort seemed necessary.

Another factor tending toward the same conclusion was the attitude of certain of the native tribes themselves. Among her own tributaries Virginia could, and did, enforce obedience,³⁵ but such was impossible among the Indians without the colony's jurisdiction. The worst offenders were Tuscarora, members of the most powerful nation dwelling within the limits of North Carolina. Aside from their terrifying incursions into the territories of the tributaries, and their occasional assaults upon white settlers who braved the dangers of the advanced frontier, they were a constant threat to the security of Virginia's trade with nations farther to the southwest.³⁶ When, in 1711, the Tuscarora rose in wild revolt against their white neighbors the governor of Virginia suspended the Indian trade indefinitely.³⁷ Soon followed a defeat—not decisive—of the Tuscarora, with a consequent order for resumption of the Old Dominion's trade

³⁰C. O. 5: 1316, no. 16.

³¹William Grant, James Munro, and A. W. Fitzroy, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, 1613-1783* (London, 1908-1912), vol. for 1680-1720, pp. 610-613. The date was September, 1709.

³²*Cal. State Papers, A. and W. I.*, 1711-1712, p. 87. This was in 1711.

³³*Acts Privy Council, 1680-1720*, pp. 613-614.

³⁴Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 156. This work treats briefly of Virginia-Carolina trade rivalry.

³⁵*Va. Council, Exec. Journals, passim.*

³⁶*Ibid.*, *passim.*

³⁷*Ibid.*, III, 284.

with remote tribes, probably including the Cherokee.³⁸ But it is doubtful that the Cherokee, or for that matter, any of the distant nations, profited by this order for within a few months a caravan wending its way into the southwest was set upon by the desperate Tuscarora.³⁹ Thus the traffic with the Cherokee, with the Catawba, and with the other nations was suffering not only from the open rivalry of South Carolina, but from the flank attacks of hostile Tuscarora as well.

And, as if this were not enough, there was the growing menace of France, after 1699 seated in the Mississippi valley and, it was believed, plotting to seduce the mountain tribes from the English interest. With the hindsight of over two hundred years it is patent enough that if the French design succeeded, the Appalachians would mark the western limits of English expansion. Few contemporaries, however, could foresee any such result, but among those few was Sir Francis Nicholson, governor of His Majesty's dominion of Virginia. And not only did Sir Francis realize the gravity of the situation, he was able, also, to offer sound suggestions as to how the French threat might be met. In these suggestions he struck the keynote of Indian diplomacy: trade. As early as 1691 he had proposed the creation of a trading company, having then in mind no more than the increase of revenues and the checking of Indian incursions,⁴⁰ but by 1695, when he had become aware of the French danger, the idea of a trading company had taken on a new meaning. A company could set up trading posts among the mountain tribes, drawing the latter into an English alliance, and thus thwart the French in a most important sphere of diplomacy. Governor Nicholson's convictions were greatly strengthened, first by a conversation with some western Indians who had with them a Frenchman claiming to have been with LaSalle on his fatal expedition,⁴¹ then by messages from the enterprising governor of New York, Lord Bellomont, urging that the French be supplanted in the trans-montane trade by a rapid expansion

³⁸ C. O. 5: 1316, no. 129. The proclamation re-opening the trade was dated June 10, 1712.

³⁹The governor of Virginia to the governor of North Carolina, Mar. 8, 1713, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, William P. Palmer, ed. (Richmond, 1875), I, 163.

⁴⁰Nicholson to the Lords of Trade, Jan. 26, 1691, C. O. 5: 1306, no. 6. The home government refused to sanction the project (C. O. 5: 1358, p. 133).

⁴¹Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 60. The meeting of Nicholson and the Shawnee took place not later than 1698.

of Virginia's traffic,⁴² and, finally, by Cadwallader Jones' *Louissiana and Virginia improved*, an essay dedicated to Nicholson and explaining in detail the organization of a company such as might succeed in carrying out the western design.⁴³

In 1699, the Virginia assembly, pressed by the governor, acquiesced in the project of a voluntary trading concern, but the colonists refused to purchase stock.⁴⁴ Thereupon, the persistent Nicholson requested the home government to lay the situation before the merchants of London trading to Virginia, that they might be induced to subscribe.⁴⁵ There is nothing to indicate that the officials in the mother country acted upon the governor's request; rather, he was abruptly informed that the chief end to be pursued in Virginia was the planting of tobacco.⁴⁶ Then Sir Francis set about to arrange a conference at which the governors of the colonies from Virginia to New York might discuss the scheme for a western trade, but for various reasons the conference was never held.⁴⁷ In the spring of 1702 the English board of trade, that administrative body which kept in closest touch with colonial affairs, again went over the Nicholson proposals, but seems to have taken no definite action.⁴⁸ At this point the records fall silent; for several years they reveal nothing connected with the trading company desired by Sir Francis Nicholson. But the work of this governor, bent upon securing imperial interests through the instrumentality of the Indian trade, was by no means fruitless, and even the Cherokee trade, however remote the connection may seem, was to benefit by his efforts.

To define the status of this trade during the early years of the eighteenth century is difficult. Writing in 1701, Governor Nicholson had stated that upon inquiry he had found some fifty or sixty persons "in this Country [Virginia]" engaged in the Indian trade.⁴⁹ There is nothing to indicate how many, if in-

⁴²C. O. 5: 1309, no. 74; C. O. 5: 1312, pt. I, no. 11.

⁴³C. O. 5: 1310, pp. 261 *et seq.* The essay was probably worked out during the winter of 1698-99.

⁴⁴*Va. Mag.*, xxx (1922), 335.

⁴⁵C. O. 5: 1310, no. 2, p. 26. Nicholson's letter was dated July 1, 1699.

⁴⁶Board of Trade to Nicholson, January 4 and April 12, 1700, C. O. 5: 1359, pp. 377, 397, 398.

⁴⁷*Va. Council, Exec. Journals*, II, 102. Maryland's governor was stricken with fever (*Cal. State Papers, A. and W. I.*, 1701, pp. 40-41), while Lord Bellomont was overtaken by death in March, 1701.

⁴⁸*Cal. State Papers, A. and W. I.*, 1702, p. 187.

⁴⁹C. O. 5: 1312, pt. I, no. 20.

deed any, of these traders were going so far afield as to visit the land of the Cherokee. But that the whole structure of Virginia's Indian trade was in a precarious condition was perceived by Alexander Spotswood, soon after his arrival as governor in the year 1710. This aggressive soldier-executive was not inclined to sit motionless and watch the trade dwindle away, so the trading company project, made so familiar by Nicholson, was now revived. Although the plan was rejected by the Virginia assembly in 1712,⁵⁰ two years later it was enacted into law. Any one might subscribe for stock in the Virginia Indian Company, to which was given for a period of twenty years complete control over the colony's traffic with Indians, at home or abroad.⁵¹ One of the primary purposes of the company was to resuscitate the Cherokee trade, which was at a very low ebb, owing to Carolina competition and the interruption incident to the Tuscarora War. And success in the enterprise seemed more than likely, as £10,000 of stock was subscribed, the organization perfected, and a great store of trading goods ordered from England.⁵² But long before any goods arrived from England, the high hopes centering around the southwest trade were dashed; in the spring of 1715 the Yamassee Indians attacked the whites of South Carolina and long months of savage warfare lay ahead. Governor Spotswood immediately prohibited commercial intercourse with the southwest tribes, a prohibition which was respected by the company, but violated by unlicensed private traders seeking swollen profits.⁵³

With the close of conflict in Carolina, the right of Virginians to trade with the Catawba, Cherokee, or other southwest nations was restored.⁵⁴ The company had not lost sight of its original design; in the spring of 1717 it was preparing to send into the Indian country a cargo "consisting of no less than 200 horse-loads of goods under a guard of 40 men."⁵⁵ These goods, in part at least, were doubtless designed for the Cherokee, but no further mention of the 1717 expedition occurs. The next year, how-

⁵⁰*Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1712-1726*, (Richmond, 1912), p. xx.

⁵¹*The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood*, edited by R. A. Brock (*Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, New Series*, Richmond, 1882-1885), II, 94-95.

⁵²*Ibid.*, II, 141; *Journals of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1715-1718* (London, 1924), 165.

⁵³*Spotswood Letters*, II, 258-259.

⁵⁴*Va. Council, Exec. Journals*, III, 440.

⁵⁵C. O. 5: 1318, p. 88.

ever, a company caravan made its way to the distant Cherokee, and remained among the mountain Indians the entire summer and probably autumn, too, for it returned to the Virginia warehouses only toward the end of the year. The traders brought back not only seventy horses loaded with peltry, but also four Cherokee chieftains, who insisted that the trade with Virginia should be made permanent.⁵⁶

The re-opening of the Cherokee trade was one of the outstanding achievements of the Virginia Indian Company, which would have relished nothing, perhaps, quite so much as the exploitation of this very traffic. But such was now no longer possible. The monopolistic character of the company had aroused powerful opposition both within the colony and in England; the fight against it had been carried before the imperial officials, and in the summer of 1717 it was declared no longer to be in official existence.⁵⁷ It lived on, however, for many months, pending the settlement of its affairs, and it was during these twilight days that the great caravan had reached, and returned from, Cherokee-land. The company could not, of course, follow up its last minute success, but others could—and did. Although Governor Spotswood might observe, truthfully enough, that of all the opposition merchants only one had been interested enough in the trade to send a few goods to the “foreign” Indians,⁵⁸ this was not to say that no one was engaging in the trade. In fact, the records of peltry exported from Virginia during this period prove that the impetus given the Indian trade by Spotswood’s trading concern was not ephemeral, but permanent, for Virginia shipped to England in the years following 1718 over twice as much peltry as she had exported during the same length of time in the decade from 1705 to 1715.⁵⁹ When the trade with the tributaries furnished comparatively few pelts, and before the Ohio trade had been opened, a very large proportion of all the skins exported must have been derived from

⁵⁶The above information is contained in a letter written by Governor Spotswood to the Lords of Trade, Dec. 22, 1718. It is found in C. O. 5: 1318, p. 590, but not in Spotswood’s published correspondence.

⁵⁷*Acts Privy Council, Colonial*, 1680-1720, p. 721.

⁵⁸This observation was contained in a communication of Sept. 27, 1718, *Spotswood Letters*, II, 301.

⁵⁹The records are in C. O. 5: 1317, pp. 364-365, and Custom House Papers, class 3, vols. xx to xxvi.

traffic with the tribes to the southwest, chiefly the Catawba, and, to a less extent, the Cherokee.

With the security promised by a powerful organization such as the Virginia Indian Company, trade with red nations lying far distant might be carried on with profit, but when the company was struck down and the trade thrown open to all, obstacles of long-standing loomed large indeed. The old Carolina-Virginia rivalry had become intensified during the Yamassee War. The Carolinians accused the Old Dominion of covertly encouraging the revolting red skins through a base desire to seize Carolina's western trade.⁶⁰ After the war traders from both colonies resorted to the most devious devices in order to ruin the trade of their rivals,⁶¹ and in November, 1721, South Carolina went back to precedent and required a license to be obtained in Charles Town by all traders operating in, or trespassing upon, Carolina territory. A deal of discussion followed, apparently without decisive results, but the important fact remained that Virginia's trade with the western tribe would always evoke Carolina competition.⁶² Some of the Virginia traders to the Cherokee may still have been using the round-about route through the present northwestern Georgia; at any rate there was some complaint when this colony, a few years after its founding, ordered the Virginians to obtain Georgia licenses.⁶³

The traders from the James River country might have injected more enthusiasm into their ventures had they enjoyed the support of their provincial government, but this they rarely did for many years after 1722, when there had come to an end the administration of Governor Alexander Spotswood, the greatest promoter of Indian trade that the colony was ever to know. For that matter, even Spotswood himself may have become discouraged as a result of having had so many of his plans frustrated. This would seem to be indicated by the reception accorded a delegation of Cherokee chieftains in October, 1721, the Indians hoping that trade might be built up through an appeal to the colonial authorities. It was only after inquiry

⁶⁰Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 176-177.

⁶¹Board of Trade Journals, C. O. 391: 29, p. 323. Transcripts of these journals are in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

⁶²Va. Council, *Executive Journals*, IV, 17-19; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 204.

⁶³Va. *Gazette*, Mar. 25-Apr. 1, 1737.

that the council learned the recently dissolved company had withdrawn its factors and goods from among the Cherokee, although this very withdrawal seemed to be the principal source of uneasiness on the part of the Indians. The answer of the council to the plea for trade was that the Cherokee would be welcomed any time they came to Virginia to exchange their deer skins for arms and ammunition, or that if any individual traders carried goods to the red men the government would support such trade.⁶⁴ Just how, the council did not state, nor is it likely that the Indians felt encouraged over the outcome of the conference.

The trade that went on between Virginia and the Cherokee during the seventeen-twenties and thirties was not sufficiently great to attract the council's attention, but it probably proved profitable to those few persons engaging therein. Caravans of from fifty to a hundred horses still made their way to Catawba Town,⁶⁵ but those going on to the Cherokee were doubtless much smaller. In the summer of 1725 a South Carolina agent found trading among the Cherokee two Virginians, William Bellew and John Ellis, and these were in the employ of one Major Bowling.⁶⁶ There are few references to the Virginia trade at this time, and it must have been quite small. The Cherokee made no complaint of its paucity, apparently because of steady supplies from Carolina. But about 1730 this trade was cut off, the Cherokee having misused certain Carolina traders. Thereupon the red men appealed to Virginia, and, if the one account of the transaction is to be believed, goods were immediately despatched, only to be intercepted by the Carolina authorities.⁶⁷

Toward the end of 1734 there arrived in Williamsburg, the colonial capital, three head men of the Cherokee nation. Appearing before the council, they expressed their people's desire of a closer trade with the Old Dominion. Having in mind, perhaps, their former failures to win from the Virginia officials more than lip service, they requested permission for their tribesmen to settle on a branch of the Roanoke River, "that from

⁶⁴Va. Council, *Exec. Journals*, III, 554-555, IV, 1-2.

⁶⁵Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd*, 235.

⁶⁶Colonel Chicken's Journal to the Cherokees, 1725, in N. D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 103.

⁶⁷*South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, X (1909), 58.

thence they may enjoy the conveniency of a free trade with [the] colony." At this the council demurred, complaining that such would embroil the Cherokee with the northern Indians, who hunted in the Roanoke valley, but on the other hand the mountain tribes "may trade here with all freedom so long as they continue in peace and friendship with his Majesties Subjects. . . ." ⁶⁸ Thus the native embassies might come and go, the provincial administrations change in personnel, but the Cherokee trade seemed ever doomed to neglect.

From its inception the traffic with tribes far to the southwest had been attended with difficulties. At one time it might be an Indian war; at another it might be annoying restrictions imposed by Carolina or Georgia; there was always, however, the difficulty of distance. It depended, of course, upon the route followed as to the approximate distance between Williamsburg and the home of the Cherokee. Likely enough, some few of the traders still made use of the long route through northwestern Georgia and around the southern end of the great mountain chain, trading, to be sure, with tribes along the way, but with the Cherokee as their ultimate destination. More frequented, however, was that trail which led from Catawba Town northwest across a part of South Carolina to strike the foothills and continue on into the heart of the mountains. ⁶⁹ Then there were other paths, less well known, but all were alike in that they called for long and tedious travel. Contemporary writers estimated that Virginians trading with the Cherokee were forced to journey, as a rule, from 500 to 800 miles. ⁷⁰ This resulted in some traders remaining among the Indians for years at a time, ⁷¹ in Virginia's trading profits dwindling to almost microscopic proportions, ⁷² and in Carolina's receiving additional advantage in her rivalry with the James river colony.

William Byrd II, writing in the late 1730's, expressed it as his opinion that a nearer route to the Cherokee could be found, which would cut short the distance to that nation by more than fifty per cent. If the Virginia assembly should make possible such a discovery, "Our Traders," Byrd wrote, ". . . would be

⁶⁸C. O. 5: 1420, p. 181; *Va. Council, Exec. Journals*, IV, 343-344.

⁶⁹Justin Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin* (1895), 168.

⁷⁰Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd*, 184; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* . . . (London, 1724), 19. Sabin's reprint, New York, 1865, was used.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 19. Natural inclinations had much to do with this, also.

⁷²Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd*, 185.

able to undersell those sent from the other Colonies so much, that the Indians must have reason to deal with them preferable to all others."⁷³ Byrd had little reason to expect aid from the assembly; since the days of Governor Spotswood and the Virginia Indian Company the provincial government had affected no real interest in the trade to the Cherokee, or, for that matter, in the trade to any nation. It was fortunate that the discovery of a new route was not dependent upon assembly action, else it would have doubtless been much delayed. If it may be assumed that such a path was not in use at the time Byrd wrote—and had it been in use it seems that he would have known of it—then its discovery must be dated about 1740. In that year the new trail was apparently trod for the first time by white men. These were a band of traders, their names unknown, who employed as packman a certain Mr. Vaughan. The party probably went up the Roanoke River until the Blue Ridge were left behind, and in the beautiful valley stretching out before them, they found running to the southwest a well worn Indian trail, the Virginia "warrior's path." This carried the traders across the New River and the North Fork of Holston, soon after which the trail divided, the "great path" continuing on, now southwestwardly across the Nolichucky and French Broad rivers, and so into the heart of the Overhill Cherokee country.⁷⁴ The approach to the Cherokee from the north was much less difficult than the approach from the east, and the new route was shorter than the old. So patent were these advantages that most of the Virginia traders soon ceased to travel the "Carolina road," instead guiding their caravans through the Blue Ridge and down the great western valley until the haunts of the mountain Indians were reached.

Nor was it long until others followed in the wake of the trader. Between 1747 and 1750 Dr. Thomas Walker, of Albemarle County, was busily engaged in exploring some of the new lands west of the mountains. The Inglis and Draper families, and a few associates, came with the doctor on one of his expeditions and were so struck with the country's appearance that they decided to locate on the New River.⁷⁵ About 1748 Stephen

⁷³*Ibid.*, 185.

⁷⁴J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee*, 64, 88; *Va. Mag.*, xxx (1922), 185.

⁷⁵William M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), 23; John P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers* (Cincinnati, 1886), 16.

Holston settled at the head spring of the river named after him,⁷⁶ and some two years later there went up, just nine miles to the west, the cabin of the Cherokee trader, Samuel Stalnaker.⁷⁷ "Stalnaker's place," as it came to be called, was the farthest west of any white settlement,⁷⁸ and its exposed position threatened the trader's security.⁷⁹ Looked at in one way, these settlements in Southwest Virginia would benefit the trade by securing the trader's line of communication, but on the other hand, their very presence might precipitate an Indian attack in which the trade would suffer along with all else.

The Cherokee were undoubtedly disappointed when the new trading route from Virginia failed to bring into their towns any great increase of supplies. They were beginning by this time to feel the influence of France, whose settlements along the St. Lawrence and lower Mississippi rivers were now well established and whose traders were operating in parts of that vast territory lying between these two extremes, yet the Cherokee were not at all sure that French promises of a trade could be relied upon.⁸⁰ Therefore, chief reliance was placed upon the nearest colony, Carolina. At intervals, however, causes for dispute between traders and Indians arose, sometimes resulting in mistreatment of the traders. Such was the case about 1751, when a series of outrages caused South Carolina to order a cessation of all trade with the Cherokee.⁸¹ The latter, feeling the pinch, despatched to Williamsburg a delegation which represented to the Virginia council that South Carolina had failed to carry out certain trade agreements and that she had supplied Creek warriors, enemies of the mountain Indians, with weapons of war, and intimating, moreover, that if Virginia did not care

⁷⁶Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786* . . . (Richmond, 1903), 46.

⁷⁷*The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake, 1756-1765* (London, 1765. Reprinted at Johnson City, Tenn., 1927, and edited by Samuel Cole Williams), p. 38, n. 16. Stalnaker's cabin was probably near the present Marion, Va. Oliver Taylor, *Historic Sullivan* (Bristol, 1909), 20.

⁷⁸It was so stated on Hutchin's map of 1755.

⁷⁹The Virginia council, August 9, 1751, awarded Stalnaker £20 on account of mistreatment by the Indians (C. O. 5: 1423, p. 490).

⁸⁰The French went so far as to promise the Cherokee that in exchange for support against the English they should be supplied with goods gratis. *North Carolina Historical Review*, II (1925), 312.

⁸¹John H. Logan, *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina* . . . (Charleston, 1859), I, 417-418.

to send supplies the French were easily approachable.⁸² The intimation that the Cherokee might appeal to the French for assistance was forcible enough to cause the council to assure the delegation that traders to their nation should receive full support from the provincial government.⁸³ South Carolina seemed to hold the French in no greater fear than she did the Virginians, for in September, 1751, her officers were ordered to intercept any caravan Virginia might send the Cherokee by way of Catawba Town.⁸⁴ If a special caravan was sent out it probably went over the new route to the west, for nothing appears in the records concerning it. There must have been, however, an increase in the Virginia-Cherokee traffic, because Governor Glen of South Carolina proceeded to write the Virginia executive a letter couched in no uncertain terms. The danger, he said, in Virginia's course was apparent: new sources of supply would demolish the Cherokee's ancient dependence upon Carolina and once this tie were broken it would be but a short step to the entertainment of French proposals by disaffected elements within the nation. There should be no delay, then, in recalling Virginia traders from among the mountain Indians.⁸⁵

The Scotchman, Robert Dinwiddie, was the recipient of Glen's letter. Although he had served formerly as customs collector and inspector general in America, probably residing even in the Old Dominion, it is hardly possible that the new executive knew much, if anything, concerning the highly important matter of Indian relations. He was loyal, though, completely so, and if the Carolina governor felt that imperial security was being menaced by Virginia's trade with certain red men, then there was but one patriotic thing to do, and that was to discountenance officially any such traffic. The opportunity to act was not long delayed. In November, 1752, there came to the Virginia capital the Cherokee emperor, Attakullakulla, or The Little Carpenter, along with lesser dignitaries. The presence of the emperor himself, after a long and arduous journey, was sufficient indica-

⁸²C. O. 5: 1327, p. 358; C. O. 5: 1423, pp. 507-510. The Cherokee appeared before the Virginia Council in August, 1751.

⁸³*Va. Gazette*, August 16, 1751.

⁸⁴South Carolina, Indian Affairs, II, 144-145. Transcripts of some of the volumes in this series are in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

⁸⁵The letter is printed in Logan, *Upper S. C.*, 420-422.

tion of the pressing need of the Cherokee for supplies, and Attakullakulla admitted that the Carolina trade had been cut off, but pleaded for a closer connection with Virginia. To this plea Dinwiddie and the council listened with little sympathy. The governor stated that it did not fall within his power to force the Virginia traders to visit any one Indian nation in preference to another, and if the present situation was so serious then the Cherokee should seek to re-establish the trade with Carolina, whose location was more favorable to the exchange of commodities than Virginia's.⁸⁶ If Dinwiddie in the present instance was motivated by principles of patriotism—and it seems that he was—that side of his character is to be commended, but such should not blind the student to the fact that peace with France had been concluded but four years before, that the resumption of hostilities in the near future seemed inevitable, and that the attitude of the Indian nations in any war involving the colonies would be a factor of the first importance. Yet it took the Virginia executive a long, long while to discover any connection between the colony's traffic with the Cherokee and imperial security, and even after the discovery had been made Dinwiddie, by failing to fulfill solemn promises to the Indians, forfeited that esteem in which he might otherwise have been held.⁸⁷

⁸⁶See Dinwiddie's letter of December 10, 1752, to the home government, C. O. 5: 1327, p. 534. This letter is not contained in the published correspondence of the governor.

⁸⁷A continuation of this study will appear in the next number of the East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications. [Ed.]

FORT ROBINSON ON THE HOLSTON*

By SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS

A regiment of Virginia soldiers, which had been led by Colonel George Washington for about three years in campaigns against the French and the Northwestern Indians in the French interest, gained renown as the advance guard of the expedition of 1758 under General John Forbes which captured Fort Duquesne—renamed in honor of the great William Pitt, Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh of this day). The war, so far as concerned Virginia, seemingly being at an end, Washington resigned his commission as colonel, and married Martha Dandridge (Mrs. Custis) in January, 1759.

The command of this historic regiment was then assigned by Governor Francis Fauquier¹ to William Byrd III, of Westover, a man of great wealth, well educated and of refinement—the flower of Virginia aristocracy. Colonel Byrd turned promptly to the recruiting of the regiment to full strength.

In the early part of 1760 war was flagrant between the Lower and Middle Cherokees and South Carolina. Soon the Overhill Cherokees were involved and Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee River was besieged by them. Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina sent appeals for aid to the governors of North Carolina

*Address delivered at the unveiling of the Fort Robinson marker near Kingsport, June 18, 1931. The inscription on the marker, an illustration of which appears as frontispiece, is as follows:

FORT ROBINSON ERECTED NEAR HERE IN 1761

BUILT BY LIEUT. COL. ADAM STEPHEN OF COL. WILLIAM
BYRD'S REGIMENT DURING THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST
THE CHEROKEES THAT YEAR

FROM THIS FORT, HENRY TIMBERLAKE AND THOMAS
SUMTER, LATER GENERAL IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR,
WERE SENT ON A MISSION TO THE CHEROKEE INDIAN
TOWNS

THE INDIAN PEACE TREATY OF NOVEMBER 19th, 1761 WAS
MADE NEAR THIS SPOT

¹The Governor requested that Byrd communicate with Gen. Jeffery Amherst on the operations of the ensuing campaign. (Jan. 23, 1759.) Draper Mss.

and Virginia. Major-general Amherst, commander of the British forces in America, formulated a plan for the relief of Fort Loudoun and the chastisement of the Cherokee Nation. He immediately ordered Colonel Archibald Montgomery (later Earl of Eglinton) to proceed from the north to Charles Town with a detachment of British regulars, many of them Scotch Highlanders, to attack the Lower Cherokees, while Virginians reinforced by North Carolinians should attack the Overhills and relieve the distraught garrison of Fort Loudoun. Governor Fauquier appealed to the general assembly of Virginia to relieve that fort for the honor of Virginia upon which colony fell, perhaps, "too great Share in the Cause of this Rupture."²

In May, 1760, the Virginia assembly authorized the raising of seven hundred men to supplement the three hundred of the regiment then near the southeastern frontier under Colonel Byrd, for a march into the country of the Overhills. There followed a delay which spelled the downfall of Fort Loudoun and the massacre of a part of the officers and soldiers who manned it.

Upon Byrd must fall a fair measure of censure for this sad blow to British prestige in the West. He was doubtless little suited to Indian warfare; certain it is, he was not the equal of his predecessor in the command of such a regiment. We have glimpses of some of the influences that may have operated on him at the time. His mother in a letter to her "most dear & ever blessed Son," written August 15, 1760, while he was spending precious time in camp, added a postscript: "Sunday 17th, just from church & Mr. Davies tells me he heard that Coll. Montgomery was attacked in the woods by 4000 Indians and lost many of his People, & if tis true he says tis impossible for you to do anything. O, Merciful Heaven grant you may return in safety to your dear Children, To your own Home and to your Mother, whose Heart is entirely yours, and whose Happiness is inseparable."³

A second campaign, this time one of retaliation, was now planned by General Amherst. Virginia authorities were aroused

²*Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1758-1761*, p. 171. For causes of the rupture see Samuel C. Williams, "An Account of the Presbyterian Mission to the Cherokees, 1757-1759," *Tenn. Hist. Mag.*, ser. II, vol. I, 125-139; P. M. Hamer, *Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee* (1925), *passim*.

³*Va. Mag. of History*, XXXVII, 156.

and thoroughly in earnest. In October, 1760, the assembly passed an act providing for the withdrawal of the colony's forces from the north and the concentration of the strength of an entire regiment to go against the Overhill Cherokees.⁴ "Our last accounts from that Quarter," it was reported to Washington, "was in a letter rec'd from Colo. Byrd, dated at Campbell's Aug't 10th. I cannot imagine he will proceed after he is informed that Fort Loudoun, the principal Object of his Destination, is Surrendered to the Savages."⁵ In fact, Colonel Byrd was relying for results on the ability of Attakullakulla to induce his nation to sue for peace more than on an actual hostile invasion.⁶

Colonel Byrd's regiment, after stopping at Sawyers' on Reedy Creek during the months of fall, encamped during the winter of 1760-1761 at Samuel Stalnacker's, near the source of the Holston River, and not at Long Island of Holston, as is frequently stated by historians. The camp was called Fort Attakullakulla, in honor of the Cherokee chief.⁷ This spot was about nine miles west of the cabin of Stephen Holston at the head-spring of the river that bears Holston's name. From that outpost Byrd ventured a diversion—to Philadelphia, where on January 27, 1761, he married Miss Mary Willing, of that city. His mother wrote to him, February 17: "Your express came this morning. . . . I was so surprized as to cry out Good God

⁴*Letters to Washington*, III, 211.

⁵Capt. Robert Stewart to Washington, October 1760, *ibid.*, 197.

⁶Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter) and Captain John Stuart arrived at Byrd's encampment on September 14. Learning of the plan of the Overhill Cherokees to attack Fort Prince George in South Carolina, Colonel Byrd dispatched one of Attakullakulla's party to alarm those Indians by spreading news of the Virginia forces being near. On the 16th, the Colonel wrote by this messenger to the head-warriors of the Overhills: "My good brother the Little Carpenter, has delivered to me Captain Stewart and those others of my countrymen I am building forts all the way and propose soon to be in your nation, when I will not leave one Indian alive, one town standing, or one grain of corn in all your country if I do not find all the white people well when I get there." *So. Car. Gazette*, Oct. 11, 1760.

On his return to his nation Attakullakulla carried from Byrd his terms of peace: That Fort Loudoun, all cannon and stores should be delivered up, the fort to be garrisoned by Virginia troops, and that other forts in the Overhill Country might be erected and so garrisoned. *Ibid.*, Oct. 18.

Attakullakulla brought to Byrd's camp on October 1 ten other prisoners of the Fort Loudoun garrison. These prisoners reported that Byrd's peace terms would have been accepted by the head-warriors who had even prepared bread for the journey to his camp, but were prevented by the unseasonable arrival of a French officer, Sieur de Lantignac, in the nation with goods and presents from the French, who prevailed on most of them to believe that Byrd would put them to death when in his camp. *Ibid.*, Dec., 6.

⁷He had saved Captain John Stuart from massacre at the fall of Fort Loudoun, and had led Stuart in safety to this encampment.

is my Son Married & never acquainted me with it! But oh! My Son do no more I beseech you expose your Self among those Barbarians the Cherokees, as you have so often hazzard'd your Life & been at vast expence to serve an ungrateful People."⁸

In June, 1761, this second campaign against the Lower and Middle Cherokees was launched from Charles Town, Colonel James Grant commanding the army of about 2600 men. But to him, as to Montgomery, came no succor from Colonel Byrd by way of the concerted contemporaneous attack by his regiment on the Overhill Cherokees. Byrd again hesitated and dallied. James Adair was with Colonel Grant in the South, leading a band of Chickasaw warriors against the Cherokees, and he thus criticized Byrd's management: "The Virginia troops kept far off in flourishing parade, without coming to our assistance or making a diversion against those warlike towns which lie beyond the Apalache Mountains."⁹

Andrew Lewis, major in Byrd's regiment, on July 6, led an advance guard of three companies to open a road leading down the Middle Fork of Holston to the Long Island.¹⁰

On July 18, 1761, Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter) appeared with the Cherokee emperor in Colonel Byrd's camp, and interceded for peace. He represented that Oconostota, Ostenaco (Outacity), and Standing Turkey who had been active in bringing on and prosecuting the war were now sensible of their error. He disclosed the fact that the war had been instigated by Northern and Southern Indians under French influence. Byrd replied that peace must be made with Colonel Grant. Attakullakulla was accordingly sent with a guard of soldiers to Charles Town, where in a speech of great power and pathos he set forth the great sufferings of his nation, and asked for peace. This chief's course during the war added force to his appeal which was not denied.

Colonel Byrd from the outset had little heart for the campaign,¹¹ and Attakullakulla was wisely chosen as diplomat for the peace mission. Colonel Byrd had been one of the commissioners appointed in 1756 to treat with the Cherokees for

⁸*Va. Mag. of History*, XXXVIII, 350.

⁹James Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 252.

¹⁰Col. Byrd had reported to Gen. Amherst good roads from the back settlements to the Overhill Towns. Draper Mss. 4ZZ, 28.

¹¹Stewart to Washington, *Letters to Washington*, III, 184.

their aid in the war at the North. As a result he and Attakullakulla met in treaty at Broad River in North Carolina. Dr. Andrew Burnaby, an accomplished English clergyman, who traveled through Virginia in 1760, in his *Travels through North America* gives an account, as communicated to him "by one of the gentlemen engaged in the embassy" to the Cherokees, of Attakullakulla's interposing to save the life of Colonel Byrd. A party of the Cherokees assembled at the treaty ground were incensed by news just received of the treacherous murder of some of their warriors on the frontiers of Virginia. Burnaby says:

"Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, a steady friend of the English, hastened to the ambassadors, apprised them of their danger, and recommended to them to conceal or barricade themselves as well as they could, and not to appear abroad on any account. He then assembled his nation, over whom he possessed great influence, in the council-room; inveighed bitterly against the treachery of the English. . . . 'Let us not, however, violate our faith, or the laws of hospitality, by imbruing our hands in the blood of those who are now in our power; they came to us in the confidence of friendship, with belts of wampum to cement a perpetual alliance with us.' " It seems that Saloue, another chief (of the Valley Towns) also stood with Attakullakulla for the protection of the Virginia commissioners.¹²

In the spring preceding the 1761 campaign, Byrd had urged on Amherst the impracticability of the proposed expedition, only to be prodded by the General and Governor Fauquier to proceed. In July, Amherst gave the Colonel plainly to understand that he was "expected to push forward against the enemy."

On August 1, Byrd advanced the want of carriages and horses as a reason for failure to co-operate with Colonel Grant, and again insisted upon the impracticability of a march into the Cherokee Nation. He reported Attakullakulla's desire for peace, and resigned his command.

On August 25 Byrd's doting mother, in ignorance of her son's resignation, wrote to him in camp: "Mr. Boyd told me he met an Express upon the Road to you from General Amherst. I hope you have received no orders to go to the Indian Towns.

¹²Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, 62, 99.

That Gentleman gave me a sad account of the situation of your Incampment. The Dews that fall like rain, the Musquetas and stinging Gnats out of Number, 'tis no wonder then that your Army are so sickly. . . . Would to Heaven this campaign was over and you returned to your Molly and me.'"¹³

The soldiers under Byrd had become restive and critical, and he felt under compulsion to retire, though General Amherst was insistent that he carry out instructions to go against the Overhill Cherokees, and advised Byrd not to think of resigning his command until the service was completed.

It cannot be contended that the regiment, consisting of six hundred men, largely from the Valley, was inadequate. It was an excellent military organization. In March, 1760, the officers had presented a petition to the House of Burgesses in which they mention its reputation: "That by close Application, and a steady Perseverance in the punctual Execution of their Duty, such good Order, Regularity, and strict Discipline (which can alone constitute good troops) have long been maintained in the regiment so as to have attracted the Particular Notice and Approbation of the best Judges; acquired a Superiority over all other Provincial Troops and rendered it universally admired by all with whom it did Duty: This Assertion is clearly evinced, by the behaviour of its officers in the many Actions it has been engaged in, and the signal Bravery of several, whose gallant Conduct and Glorious Deaths redound so much to the Honor of this Colony."¹⁴

Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen,¹⁵ a man competent to the task, succeeded to the command of the regiment; and in September, 1761, an order for the march southward was given at Stalnacker's. The major was Andrew Lewis; among the captains were John McNeill, Nathaniel Gist, Jethro Sumner, and Alexander Boyd; and among the ensigns were Philip Love and Henry Timberlake.¹⁶ Dr. Thomas Walker was in charge of the commissary department. Two of the privates were Gilbert Christian, later founder of what is now the City of Kingsport, who then no doubt first saw its site, and Richard Pearis.

¹³*Va. Mag. of History*, XXXVIII, 352-353.

¹⁴Draper Mss., 4ZZ, 37.

¹⁵For a sketch of Colonel Stephen, who became a major-general in the Revolution, see Samuel C. Williams, ed., *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs* (Johnson City, 1927), 33.

¹⁶*Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. 1622.

A North Carolina force under Colonel Hugh Waddell, consisting of about four hundred men, joined the command of Stephen, coming by way of the Moravian Town (Winston-Salem) where on September 24 they camped for several days and laid in a supply of flour and meal. "Some of the men mutinied, having resolved not to march out of North Carolina. The officers meted out punishment; happily none were put to death."¹⁷

A few days march brought the main command to Long Island of Holston. It is highly probable that, after cutting the military road, Major Andrew Lewis had already begun the construction of a fort at that place. He had erected a fort for the Virginians (distinct from Fort Loudoun) on the Little Tennessee River in 1756, and was, therefore, not without experience and skill in the construction of a stockaded fort. Richard Pearis had aided Lewis in the earlier work,¹⁸ and doubtless was his assistant in the work at Long Island. By the middle of November, the soldiery of the main command participating, the fort was nearly completed.

The stockade was given the name of Fort Robinson, in honor of John Robinson (1704-1766) of "Mount Pleasant," King and Queen County, who at one time was a partner of Colonel Byrd in the lead mine at Fort Chiswell. He was an alumnus of William and Mary College and had long been a leading politician, "the most influential man in Virginia." He was elected speaker of the House of Burgesses in 1737, and the esteem in which he was held was manifested in his re-election continuously, and usually unanimously, until 1765. He also had long service as treasurer of the colony.¹⁹

Fort Robinson was located within a mile of the crossing-

¹⁷Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1922), I, 234 *et seq.* These troops returned through Salem the first week in December. *Ibid.*, 238. Thomas Brown was lieutenant-colonel under Waddell. *Ibid.*, 207-238. Consult: William Henry Hoyt, ed., *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh, 1914), II, 385; *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VI, 282, 315, 449, 521, 622. The regiment continued to be supplied with flour and meal from Salem.

¹⁸Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763*, p. 131.

¹⁹Robinson was the son of John Robinson, one time acting governor of Virginia, and president of the council. "He was an ideal representative of his class—rich, generous, kindly, and ever ready to oblige his fellow members of the ruling faction." Beveridge's *Marshall*, I, 60; Henry, *Patrick Henry*, I, 71. Byrd was becoming heavily involved financially, and it was in the power of the treasurer of the colony to favor him.

place of the Holston.²⁰ The war-trail of the Cherokees crossed, by a ford, the North Fork of Holston near its junction with the South Fork. Thus, it is indicated that the site of the fort is where, or very near where, the marker this day unveiled stands. The forest about the fort was cleared; the stockade was built on a large scale, with proper bastions and thick walls, and the customary gate, so spiked with heavy nails that the wood was covered. Within the enclosure were storehouses for food and munitions, these houses having chimneys.²¹

Haywood and Ramsey both fell into the error of ascribing the erection of this fort to the year 1758—three years too early.

To this fort about the middle of November came a brother of Attakullakulla as an ambassador from the king or emperor of the Cherokees to treat for peace. He was accompanied by about four hundred of his people. The diplomatic Attakullakulla was, no doubt, the efficient agency in inducing Colonel Stephen to grant the prayer in a treaty entered into on November 19, 1761. The address of Conockotoco (Standing Turkey), the emperor, has been preserved, though in a somewhat mutilated state, in the papers of Colonel Stephen in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. This document, never before printed, reads:

From Choto September 1761

Conockotoco's (constituted Emperor of the Cherokee Nation, By the great Warriour of Choto after Old Hop's Death²² and of the Opposite faction with the Little Carpenter) Speech sent in by the Little Carpenter's Brother.

Colonel Byrd, Now I speak to you, and send a Messenger, the same as if I came myself. I have sent the Carpenter & nine or ten of our head men to Charlestown to make a firm Peace with our Brother the Governor: a Peace never to be broke, for all our young men are tired of fighting with their Elder Brother the English. Brother, I have set the nation streight; I hope you will set yours the same, and we

²⁰Williams, *Timberlake's Memoirs*, 124.

²¹*Ibid.*, John Haywood, *History of Tennessee*, 41.

²²In the writer's reprint of *Timberlake's Memoirs* the statement was ventured that Timberlake's reference to the Emperor "Kanagatuco" (as he gave the name) was to Old Hop (Concauchto or Connecortee). But it now seems clear that Old Hop, the emperor, was dead and succeeded by Standing Turkey. Ramsey, Drake, and others mistake Oconostota, the Great Warrior, for Old Hop.

shall live like Brothers as formerly, and not be a killing of one another.

We have had a good Talk with our Brother the Governor in Charlestown & now the Path is streight, and our Hearts are Clear, & the Chain is bright that has been so long Black; and we shall live like one People as formerly we did.

I am very sorry for the war that has been between us & our Elder Brother the English, but now our Path is opened and the Sky is Clear, (mutilated) & never will fight with the English any more, but live like Brothers as formerly & trade as usual.

Great King George will be very angry with us, for what has been done, but now the Governor in Charlestown & we have made a streight Path once more, & we are all very glad of it.

We are now Building a Strong House, and the very first of our People, that does any dammage to the English, shall be put in there, untill the English fetch them, & do with them as they think proper. This you may believe for it is spoke by one and all & the Hatchett that has been so long at War is now buried under the ground, never to be seen by the English again.

At the request of the red emperor two soldiers of the regiment were sent to the Cherokee towns in order to evidence and cement the friendship pledged in the treaty. Ensign Henry Timberlake and Sergeant Thomas Sumter volunteered for the service, and set out in a canoe on the Holston for a water journey to the Cherokee towns. An account of their experience on this journey, among the Overhill Cherokees, and later in England where they conducted a delegation of the Indians to the court of George III, is preserved in Henry Timberlake's *Memoirs*. Sumter, in after years, was a brigadier-general in the Revolutionary War and a Senator from South Carolina.

Following the negotiation of the treaty, the major number of the troops were marched back to Virginia, Captain John McNeill and his company being left to garrison the fort. However, this company was itself withdrawn in a short time and the fort evacuated as useless during the peace thus forced upon the Cherokees. It was never again occupied by a military force, so far as records show.

Two men on this expedition had intimate knowledge of the locality and region before the campaign: Captain Nathaniel Gist and Private Richard Pearis had been traders to the Overhill towns as early as 1754, trading from Long Island. Both of these men had set envious eyes on that fertile island in the Holston and had fallen out in rivalry for Virginia grants of its attractive acres.²³

The beauty and fertility of the valley of the Holston proved a temptation to some men of the regiment as a region for settlement. Gilbert Christian and William Anderson, accompanied by John Sawyers, John Anderson, Robert Christian, James McNair, and Nathan Page, shortly after the troops were disbanded, explored the valley.²⁴ They crossed the North Fork at the old ford and penetrated as far down as Big Creek in the present County of Hawkins, where they met a large party of Indians, and turned back.²⁵

It is the writer's belief that William Bean was a trooper on this campaign or learned of the country from another who was, and was led to settle on the waters of the Watauga in consequence. The region could not long be held locked against settlement by the hardy Virginians who were ever ready to advance civilization into a wilderness so enticing. The Byrd-Stephen campaign and Fort Robinson constituted a spear-head, the thrust of which opened the way to the first advance of settlement into the region which we of today with pride call our homeland.

²³Gov. Dinwiddie to Pearis, Aug. 2, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 266; *Ibid.*, I, 77. In a petition laid before the Virginia General Assembly, Gist claimed that he had purchased the island in 1761 from the Cherokees, and asked confirmation of his title. Lewis P. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 83.

²⁴Christian, Sawyers and others of this party spent the winter of 1761-1762 at Long Island, near the mouth of Reedy Creek, built cabins and planted corn in the spring of 1762, but abandoned the improvements as they were found to be on the Pendleton grant of 1756. *Family History of Sawyers*, 10; letter of George Christian to Draper, Dec. 4, 1842.

²⁵James G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Charleston, 1853), 93. George Christian, son of Gilbert Christian, is authority for the statement that the party, intending to go down the rivers to the Mississippi, reached the junction of the Clinch and Tennessee, met a party of Indians and were turned back.

THE NETHERLAND INN AT OLD KINGSPORT*

By T. W. PRESTON

Prior to 1776 all of Sullivan County and a part of what is now Hawkins County, Tennessee, were supposed to be in Fincastle County, Virginia. Evidence of this is found in a grant from the Crown of England to Edmund Pendleton. This grant covered a considerable portion of what is now the city of Kingsport, and is the first grant of record for land embraced in what is now Sullivan County, Tennessee. The location of the grant is described as being on the waters of the Holston River in Augusta County, Virginia. The survey was made by Dr. Thomas Walker on one of his exploration trips to the Holston River section. The question of the geographical location was first raised by William Cocke, who in the year 1779 refused to pay his taxes to the Virginia collector, claiming that he did not live in Virginia but in North Carolina.

In 1784 Sullivan County became a part of the state of Franklin. After the dissolution of the Franklin government it again passed under the jurisdiction of North Carolina. North Carolina ceded all of her territory west of the mountains to the Federal government and it became a part of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio. In 1796 the state of Tennessee was organized and admitted into the Union. Sullivan County, therefore, has been claimed by five different governments without ever having changed its location.

The old Netherland Inn, upon which has been placed a bronze tablet, is located at old Kingsport on the north bank of the middle fork of the Holston River about one-half mile from its junction with the north fork. This old inn was built by Richard Netherland probably prior to 1812. Richard Netherland was the son of John Netherland of Goochland County, Virginia. The Netherland family came of excellent English stock who located in Virginia in 1676.

*This is the historical portion of an address delivered at the unveiling of the marker on the Netherland Inn, June 18, 1931 [*Ed.*].

The old Netherland Inn has survived the ravages of the elements and time for more than a century. If its mute walls could speak they could tell dramatic stories of the early frontier life and politics that would be almost without a parallel. In this old home Richard Netherland raised a large family—five boys and several girls. Among the sons, John Netherland was probably the most distinguished. He was a member of the Tennessee Senate and the Constitutional Convention, and was one of the most eminent advocates of his day. For a half of a century the Netherland family was one of the most prominent in upper East Tennessee, but, like many of the other pioneer families, the name Netherland has almost passed away in the records of this county. With them are gone the Shelbys, the Blounts, the Seviars, the Donaldsons, the Bledsoes, the Looneys, the Gambles, the Dunlaps, and many others who took the lead in the up-building of the Holston section.

At one time, Samuel Netherland, a son of Richard and brother of John, owned Long Island, or a vast portion of it. Diligent search of the records of this section fails to reveal the name of the person from whom he obtained his title. The original grant of title for Long Island cannot be located. The island was looked upon with the deepest veneration by the Cherokee Indians. Here they built their council fires and held their "pow-wows." They traveled for hundreds of miles in order to consummate their peace treaties on the island, as they thought they would be especially binding if concluded on this sacred spot.

We know that Samuel Netherland had title to a considerable portion of the island, if not to all of it. On September 26, 1846, his heirs deeded two hundred nine and a half acres to John Roller. Samuel Netherland built a substantial brick residence near the east end of the island, and for many years the Netherland family lived in this house.

For three-fourths of a century after the Revolutionary War, Kingsport was a prominent town in Tennessee and the southwest. The Netherland Inn was the stopping place for the stage coaches which plied between Nashville and Baltimore. Tradi-

tion tells us that the old inn was frequented by many notables of the day. It is authenticated that Andrew Jackson often spent the night there, and that James K. Polk also tarried on his way to and from Washington. David Crockett sojourned at the inn, while the local celebrities, such as John Rhea, Nathan Gregg, Edmund Pendleton, and W. C. Claiborne often met there in conferences on the weighty matters of the day.

JOHN RHEA OF TENNESSEE

By MARGUERITE B. HAMER

The story of Tennessee's unique constitutional beginnings, her pioneer days, her brief existence as the independent state of Franklin, her uncertain political allegiance, her territorial status, her embryonic statehood days, and finally the period of the full blown commonwealth, all are paralleled in the career of John Rhea of Sullivan county.

Like many another Tennessee pioneer, John Rhea was a Protestant Irishman of Scottish lineage. His grandfather, Matthew Rhea (or Reah or Creah), a descendant of the ancient house of Campbell, had fled to Ireland for political security. Matthew's son, Joseph Rhea, was educated in Scotland, became a Presbyterian minister, and preached for many years in Ireland. Here he married Elizabeth McIlwaine, like himself, Scotch-Irish. Of their eight children, John, the eldest and the subject of this sketch, was born in County Donegal in the year 1753. When John was eleven years of age, his family moved to the new world, residing first in Pennsylvania and later in Maryland. In 1775 Joseph Rhea bought lands in East Tennessee near the present Blountville, then an outpost of civilization; he served his community as minister and as Indian fighter. He went back East to transfer his family to the western country, but died in Maryland. His widow and children in February, 1778, moved down to the new lands in Tennessee.¹

John Rhea served in the War for Independence but did not allow his military activities to prevent his receiving in 1780 a degree from Princeton University in the field of classical studies and law. All of his subsequent utterances in the course of a lengthy legislative career attest to his familiarity with the best in literary usage. A letter which he wrote in Latin is still extant. His continued interest in education is evinced by his services as trustee or as incorporator of three of the earliest institu-

¹Rhea papers in the possession of the family at Blountville, Tennessee.

tions of learning west of the Alleghanies: Washington College, Greeneville College (now Tusculum), and Blount College (now the University of Tennessee).

An academic life, however, did not claim Rhea; law and politics proved the greater call. He accepted an appointment as clerk of the court of Sullivan County, then under the jurisdiction of North Carolina. In this capacity Rhea served the parent state loyally; he took no part in the revolutionary movement in Sullivan and the surrounding counties which eventuated in the establishment of the short-lived state of Franklin. As clerk he confirmed with no misgivings the validity of the Acts of Agreement that were drawn up on March 20, 1787, between the mother state and the almost defunct state of Franklin. Sullivan County, re-instated as part of the commonwealth of North Carolina, sent John Rhea and his colleague, John Scott, more than six hundred miles across the mountains to the seat of government to represent their community in the House of Commons of the General Assembly of North Carolina. Rhea attended the full fifty-one days of the session. He served on the joint committee of both houses on finance and as chairman of a committee of five which reported a bill "to pardon and consign to oblivion" the "highly reprehensible conduct" of John Sevier and other Franklinites of the counties of Washington, Greene, Sullivan, and Hawkins.²

While Rhea was a member of the House of Commons of North Carolina, that body adjourned for five days (November 16 to November 21, 1789) to permit many of its members to sit in convention to consider the question of ratifying the Constitution of the United States. Eleven of the thirteen states had accepted the Constitution so that it had already gone into effect. The status of North Carolina was therefore a peculiar one. Her first ratifying convention had met at Hillsboro but had adjourned on August 4, 1788, without accepting the new national government. Rhea was not present in that body. He did attend the sessions of the second convention called to meet in Fayetteville, the seat of the state legislature. On November 22, 1789, Rhea and one hundred ninety-four others voted in favor of accepting the United States Constitution against seventy-seven who voted nay, and North Carolina became one of the several states of the new

²*State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 193, 285.

Union. Two days later, November 24, 1789, Rhea and ten others formed a committee from both houses of the legislature to prepare a bill for ascertaining the manner, place, and times of electing representatives from North Carolina to the Congress of the United States. Rhea continued to support the North Carolina connection and voted against the cession to the United States of "certain western lands," the present Tennessee, which embraced Sullivan County. The measure was carried, however, sixty-eight to twenty-nine, and the Tennessee region became the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio. The office of territorial governor was given to a North Carolinian, William Blount, who licensed Rhea to practice law in the several courts in the territory and commissioned him county attorney for the court of Sullivan.³

In the course of a few years Tennessee emerged from her territorial status and set about to enter the Union as a state. A convention was called to meet in Knoxville early in 1796 for the purpose of framing a constitution for the embryonic state. Rhea, as usual sat for Sullivan County. He was present the full twenty-seven days (January 11-February 6), serving as door-keeper and as a member of the committee which drafted the constitution. In the course of the debates, he proposed that the legislature be unicameral, and that in that single chamber a two-thirds vote be requisite for the passage of every bill and resolution.⁴ Rhea's suggestions, however, did not carry and so formed no part of the new constitution. The completed document was carried to Philadelphia, the seat of the federal government, by Joseph McMinn, later to be governor of the state.

The newly created commonwealth held its first General Assembly on March 28, 1796, at Knoxville. John Rhea and David Looney represented Sullivan County. Again Rhea acted as door-keeper and characteristically attended the full twenty-seven days of the session. His chief contribution in launching the new government was his service as chairman of the committee which drafted the rules to guide the assembly in its work. The second session of the assembly of the infant state convened on July 30, 1796, and again it met at Knoxville. Once more Rhea was door-keeper and as usual established a perfect attendance record. In

³*Ibid.*, XX, 647; XXI, 198, 209, 432; 36-53.

⁴*Journal of the Convention of 1796* (reprinted, Nashville, 1852), p. 9.

the fall of the following year, Rhea, with John Scott, continued to represent Sullivan County in Tennessee's legislature.⁵

In 1802 Rhea entered the field of national politics. With the exception of one term, he served in the House of Representatives in the eighth to the seventeenth Congress inclusive, that is, from 1802 till 1823 excepting the year 1815-1816. In many respects Rhea impresses us today as the ideal Congressman. His methodical habit of regular attendance continued to assert itself. In April, 1822, he could boast that he had not been absent from the House for a single day. Again he showed himself a model, if not an extraordinary Congressman, in scorning dilatory measures. He protested that "the whole time of the House would be spent about nothing, discussing propositions which could not possibly produce good to the nation." That Rhea was more statesman than politician is evinced in his attitude toward partisan politics. "Party," he declared, "in the political world is like evil in the moral world, a destroyer of the peace and happiness of mankind." Again he said: "The people are sovereign, from them eventuates all power; they are the true rulers."

Despite a non-partisan attitude, Rhea was at all times a faithful adherent to Democratic-Republican principles and policies: that is, he was Jeffersonian in philosophy. He was antagonistic to the renewal of the national bank charter, sympathetic to agrarian as against commercial interest, and hostile to Great Britain. Like Jefferson, he decried "a consolidated government." "This is a government consisting of twenty Confederated states," he said, "all sovereignties, independent of each other, each one having a distinct constitution for its own internal government; but by the constitution of their union bound together as one nation."⁶ To his constituents he wrote: "The republican sovereignties of the respective states are to be maintained pure and inviolate; on their existence does depend the duration of the constitution of the United States." He venerated the constitution as "a free will offering to the happiness of mankind." He wanted the document preserved in its original form, free from change by amendment. "If the constitution is subjected to amendment after amendment," Rhea lamented, "it may finally be amended

⁵Journals of the first two sessions of the legislature of Tennessee (reprinted, Nashville, 1852), *passim*.

⁶*Annals of Congress*, vol. 39, p. 1610 (April 16, 1822).

so as to be destroyed.”⁷ Like Jefferson, he favored a strict interpretation of the document. It was “sacred” and not “capable of alteration.” He would vote against every resolution which would “torture and twist it out of its proper shape.” In conformity with his strict constructionist views, Rhea opposed the re-granting of a charter to the first United States Bank. “If,” he explained, “the convention, or the ratifying states had designed to vest Congress with the right to create the Bank of the United States that right would have been expressly enumerated in the Constitution.” “So long,” he said, “as he had a seat on the floor, he should never vote to make Congress a broker’s shop for selling bank charters.”⁸

Typical of his party sentiments, Rhea leaned toward agrarian as against commercial interests. The great seal of his own state literally depicts agriculture as above commerce. Rhea felt deeply on the subject. “Agriculture,” he said, “is the first and great business of man; he was driven out and commanded to cultivate the earth.” In a letter to his constituents, he advised, “Let everything be done to promote agriculture; commerce and manufacture will follow.”

The administration policy of hostility to Great Britain was often voiced by Rhea. In January, 1812, he told the House of Representatives that “nothing but the reduction of this nation to a servile state of colonial existence can satiate the appetite of voracious England.” Time and again he accused the British of inciting the Indians against the Americans.⁹ By way of reprisal, he even proposed the annexation of British territory. “The Canadas,” he said, “will soon or late be an integral part of this confederated union. . . . The peace and happiness of these United States, and the peace and happiness of the British Empire require that the Canadas shall be joined to the United States of America as the great heretofore province of Louisiana has been united to them.”¹⁰

Expansionist though he was, Rhea did not favor annexation at the price of war. War was always to be deprecated as “an evil to a nation.” “It cannot be proved,” he declared in April,

⁷*Knoxville Register*, June 18, 1822.

⁸*Annals of Congress*, vol. 22, pp. 809-20 (January 24, 1811).

⁹*American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 191. The British agent in 1791 was, as General Knox said, “pretty strenuous in asserting the contrary of Rhea’s information,” even going so far as to refer to Rhea as “an infamous character.”

¹⁰*Annals of Congress*, vol. 26, p. 1145 (January 26, 1814).

1806, "that the United States have men to spare for the sword." He vigorously opposed military and naval preparedness. "Should Congress maintain," he inquired in January, 1823, "a powerful navy to be prepared to meet a war that may or may not be fifty years hence?" He would be "happy," he said in January, 1812, "to see all the armed ships of the world on fire," for they had been "uniformly destructive of human happiness." Moreover the expense of armaments fell upon all the people alike whereas only the commercial interests were benefited. "If," Rhea reasoned in January, 1812, "we could get a revenue that was not paid by the people at large but by the merchants alone, then there would be some ground for calling upon the people to assist in protecting their commerce." Furthermore, ships of war would benefit only the eastern section of the United States. The western country would not need them "except they meant to use them against the Indians." Rhea might well be familiar with the lasting expense of military and naval armaments and warfare generally, inasmuch as he served for many years as chairman of the committee on Revolutionary pensions.

Rhea's desire for peace embraced domestic as well as international concerns. In 1816 with John Coffee and John McKee he was commissioned to make a treaty with the Choctaw nation. The Indians were to be paid the sum of \$6,000 annually for twenty years and to be given merchandise to the value of \$10,000 in return for their lands east of the Tombigbee River¹¹ Rhea favored the extinguishment of the Indian title in deference to the superior race. In 1822 he declared the ousting of the Indian to be in keeping with "sound policy and economy." He maintained that "the Cherokee claim for land in Georgia and in Tennessee ought to be done away." White persons should be encouraged to settle on unoccupied Indian hunting grounds. Lands from which the Indian title had been extinguished should be granted to "every free white male" who resided "thereon or who should actually reside thereon" within a given number of years. Thus a barrier would be created against the Indian, and the white man would be secure against savage attack, the horrors of which were all too familiar to those like Rhea who inhabited the frontier.

In respect to another race problem, we find Rhea again toler-

¹¹*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 95.

ant and sympathetic toward the naturally superior class. Slavery he recognized as a great moral evil, but said that the only feeling that the North ought to entertain towards the South was "compassion" that the South was not so fortunate as the North had been in being enabled by circumstances "to get rid of the evil." Furthermore, Rhea upheld the legal rights of the slaveholding states, for he felt that "so long as this property [slavery] was authorized there could be no doubt of the right of the holder to pursue it and carry it back without hindrance to the place from whence it escapes."¹²

The forbearance which Rhea felt for the slaveholder parallels his attitude toward those who differed from him religiously. He believed firmly in a "Mighty Being who raises and depresses nations when he pleases." Yet we find Rhea tolerantly voting in the Tennessee assembly of 1796 against a bill that purported to preclude the admission as witnesses of persons who should "publicly deny the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments." Such restraint on the individual, Rhea and his committee denounced as "an inferior species of persecution."¹³

Tolerance was not more characteristic of Rhea than a love of freedom. In the session of the North Carolina legislature of 1789 he voted against a bill that would involve the use of drafted labor. A "Waggon Road" was proposed to be opened from White's Mill in Hawkins County to Bledsoe's Lick in Sumner County. Realizing full well the value of such an improvement to the western country, Rhea yet opposed it, believing that labor should be drafted only in times of war and public emergency. The use of such labor, Rhea contended, would be "a dangerous innovation" and "a restraint on the liberty of freemen." The same spirit of freedom asserted itself in connection with the question of the re-cession of the District of Columbia to the states of Maryland and Virginia. Rhea pointed out that the constitutions of neither of these states contained power to cede away any of its citizens—much less deprive them of the suffrage. He lamented the fact that many thousands of citizens were thus "deprived of rights and privileges, the possession and exercise of which under the republican form of government were

¹²*Annals of Congress*, vol. 31, p. 838 (January 30, 1818).

¹³J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, 663.

solemnly guaranteed to them." Rhea appears not only as the defender of the rights of the people but as well of the liberties of individuals. The role of exonerator was a familiar one to this aggressive statesman. He boldly came to the defence of the accused Wilkinson. "Of what avail," he said, "were a letter or two when put in competition with the general character of this officer?" In the same spirit Rhea came to the defense of Andrew Jackson and justified his conduct in the Seminole War. On the floor of the House he declared that "Jackson was authorised by the supreme law of nature and nations, the law of self-defence."¹⁴

In connection with the Florida campaign, devotion to Andrew Jackson involved Rhea in unfortunate publicity. On January 8, 1818, Jackson wrote to President Monroe suggesting that East Florida should be "seized and held as an indemnity for the outrages of Spain upon the property of our citizens." The letter contained this suggestive statement: "Let it be signified to me through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea) that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished." About six weeks later, so Jackson afterwards claimed, he received a letter from Rhea containing the President's approval. This letter, Jackson burned at the urgent request of Rhea or, as Jackson claimed later, at the instance of Monroe through the medium of Rhea.¹⁵ Calhoun as Secretary of State had advised Jackson to avoid war with Spain, as that "would involve the Holy Alliance and England."¹⁶

Thirteen years passed; the conquering hero was now president, Calhoun, vice-president. The whole matter as to whether Jackson was or was not authorized to invade East Florida was revived through an intricate train of circumstances, the outcome of which was that Jackson now believed that it was Calhoun rather than Crawford, whom he had formally suspected, who had sought to ruin him politically by casting doubts upon his authority to conquer Florida. The question centered about the fact of the famous letter of January 6, 1818, in which Jackson

¹⁴*Annals of Congress*, vol. 33, p. 867 (January 27, 1819).

¹⁵Jackson to Rhea, June 2, 1831, in J. S. Bassett, ed. *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, IV, 289; Jackson to R. G. Dunlap, Washington, July 18, 1831, in *American Historical Magazine*, IX, 85-90.

¹⁶Calhoun to Jackson, September 8, 1818, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 745.

had suggested Rhea as a medium for confidential authorization from Washington to invade Spanish Florida. It would seem from the correspondence of members of Monroe's cabinet that the letter in question was received but not officially acted upon; that it was not before the cabinet formally, but was privately read by certain members who visited Monroe, who was at the time ill in bed.

Rhea had no definite recollection of the Jackson letter or of his own reply. His nearly four score years weighed heavily upon him. From retirement he wrote to Jackson: "I desire to have something to bring matters fully to my recollection,"¹⁷ for, as he explained, "at that time [January, 1819] I was . . . occupied with the business before the committee of pensions and revolutionary claims." Rhea's failure to recollect his answer to Jackson which was burned may have been due either to senility or, as Bassett suggests, to the fact that Rhea's apparent permission to Jackson was in reference to another proposition, the question of the immediate responsibility of officers to Jackson rather than to the President. So Rhea may not have had in mind the conquest of Florida when in 1818 he penned these vague lines to the general: "I am gratified that the plan of the President is satisfactory to you, I am confident that he intended it to be so." Aroused to the defence of his friend, Rhea attempted to reach ex-President Monroe to enlist his support in the cause of the reputation of the fiery general. On June 3, 1831, he pleaded with the ex-President, like himself in declining years and uncertain health: "The Presidents, Jefferson and Madison all had confidence in me, and I believe you also had equal Confidence in me and so had Mr. Adams." Rhea then quoted the famous letter in which Jackson named him as the confidential medium between the president and his commanding general, and then implored, "you did receive that letter from Andrew Jackson and you will so write to me . . . you did communicate confidentially to me, you approved of the opinions of Andrew Jackson by him stated in that confidential Letter and did authorise me so to write to him. I did accordingly write to him."¹⁸

Rhea's effort was in vain. Monroe was an invalid when he re-

¹⁷Rhea to Jackson, Blountville, January 4, 1831, in Bassett, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, IV, 221-2.

¹⁸Bassett, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, IV, 288-9 ft. nt.

ceived the request. He dictated a denial which he signed with witnesses, June 19, 1831, just a fortnight before his death. Rhea died in less than a year, and relatives questioned his ability to make out his own will.¹⁹ He died a bachelor. He rests in the picturesque burial ground at Blountville near his old home. His name is perpetuated in Rhea County and in Rheatown, Greene County, Tennessee.

¹⁹Family papers near Blountville, Tennessee.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE REVOLT AGAINST JACKSON IN TENNESSEE

By POWELL MOORE

The Whig party in Tennessee did not come into existence over-night. It was a product of many years of steadily growing opposition to the domination of Andrew Jackson. The revolt against Jackson in 1834-35 was too intense and too nearly state-wide to have been spontaneous. Seeds of political discontent had been sown gradually from the year 1823, when Jackson returned to the national political arena.¹ For twelve years this increasing antagonism to the "Old Hero" was overshadowed by his great popularity. It expressed itself in state elections, but made no ripple on the surface of national politics. This opposition to Jackson was disorganized, scattered, and utterly lacking in leadership until Jackson's second term in the presidency. Andrew Jackson Donelson characterized this movement as "honest but silent, not discouraged by the real republicans up to the time of the proclamation and the Force Bill."² When Jackson became President, opposition developed in Tennessee both to his appointments and to his policies. In time the movement crystallized into a real opposition with able leadership.³ The next step was a natural one. Between 1834 and 1839 this anti-administration element in Tennessee allied itself definitely with the rising Whig party of the nation.

It was not until 1823 that there was a sign of a revolt from the Republican party in Tennessee. At this time the situation was not serious, as far as national politics were concerned, and for twelve years there was no real party division in the state. Tennessee had been consistently Republican since the first election in 1796.⁴ It became more so after Jackson appeared on the

¹Thomas P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy," *American Historical Review*, XXXII, 64-77.

²Andrew J. Donelson to Martin Van Buren, Nashville, Sept. 25, 1835, in the Papers of Martin Van Buren, XXII (Mss. in Library of Congress).

³Thomas P. Abernethy, "The Origin of the Whig Party in Tennessee," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 504-521.

⁴Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (N. Y., 1898), I.

scene. It would be more correct to say that in the twenties the Republican party in Tennessee really became the Jackson party. Everything was submerged in the great effort to make Jackson president. David Crockett later remarked truly that "opposition to Jackson was considered the unpardonable sin."⁵ It was somewhat different in state politics. Here local issues and personalities counted for a great deal. It was often the case that a man was a Jackson man nationally while at the same time he opposed the wishes of the "Old Hero" in state elections.⁶ It was in those state struggles that there were sown the seeds of rebellion against Jackson which later, combined with opposition to Jackson in the field of national politics, made possible the formation and growth of the Whig party in Tennessee.⁷

Next to Jackson, probably the most important and influential figure in Tennessee politics prior to 1834 was William Carroll.⁸

⁵David Crockett, *Life of David Crockett, an Autobiography* (N. Y., 1902), 161. Crockett was one of the first men in Tennessee to break with the Jackson party. He supported John Williams against Jackson in 1823. He opposed the entire Tennessee delegation in Congress over the disposal of public lands in Tennessee. This signaled his definite break with the Jacksonians. He co-operated with the opposition against Jackson in Congress and in Tennessee. Exceedingly independent, Crockett rebelled against the domination of Jackson. While not a great party leader, he had some influence in the Western District. That district became a Whig stronghold and some credit must be given to Crockett for that condition. See Phelan, *History of Tennessee* (Cambridge, 1888), 360; Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk* (Berkeley, 1922), 21-24; Crockett to James Blackburn, Feb. 5, 1828, in Crockett Mss. in archives of the Tennessee Historical Society; Polk to Davison McMillan, January 16, 1829, in the Papers of James K. Polk, IV (Mss. in Library of Congress); White to Pryor Lea, Feb. 17, 1829, *Ibid.*

⁶James Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, 241, 257, 357, 375; U. B. Phillips, "Southern Whigs," in *Essays in American History* (N. Y., 1910), dedicated to Frederick J. Turner, 206.

⁷See Joshua Caldwell, "John Bell of Tennessee," *American Historical Review*, IV, 652-656, for comment in regard to this movement. Jackson's quarrel with John Williams was one of these state struggles. Williams was a brother-in-law of Hugh Lawson White and was very popular in East Tennessee. The trouble was an old one and came to a crisis in 1823 when Jackson defeated Williams for the Senate. Williams, being an enemy of the General, it was thought that his election would seriously effect Jackson's prospects for the presidency. Williams was very active against Jackson for some years although he seems to have lost interest in politics by the time the Whig party was formed. A considerable amount of the opposition to Jackson in East Tennessee must be attributed to the Jackson-Williams quarrel. Important matter pertaining to the enmity between the two leaders may be found in the following: Account by William B. Lewis in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (N. Y., 1859), 21-25; Knoxville *Register*, Oct. 10, 1823; Andrew Jackson to John McNairy, Sept. 6, 1823, in J. S. Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1927), III, 207; Jackson to Col. John Brown, Oct. 8, 1819, *ibid.*, II, 437; John Brown to Jackson, Oct. 16, 1819, *ibid.*, 438; Hugh Lawson White to Jackson, June 19, 1827, *ibid.*, III, 365; John Williams to Willie P. Mangum, Feb. 6, 1836, in the Papers of Willie P. Mangum, VII (Mss. in Library of Congress).

⁸Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy," *loc. cit.*, 68-72; Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, 252-257.

The relations of the two men were very important and often of critical significance for the success of the Jackson party in Tennessee. Carroll never became a Whig although he was about the only leader opposed by Jackson in Tennessee that did not in time desert the Democratic party in the early Whig period. The two men were fast friends in the early years, but they later drifted apart when they went into politics.⁹ Carroll became a power in state politics and the machine he organized was almost invincible.¹⁰ In 1821 Carroll was successful in the race for the governorship in spite of the fact that Jackson's great influence was thrown against him.¹¹ The breach was widened in 1823 when Jackson accused Carroll of supporting Clay in the contest which would culminate in the election of 1824.¹² It is entirely possible that Carroll, in view of Jackson's hostility to him, might have toyed with the idea of definitely lining himself up with the Clay element. However, it is probable that Jackson's great popularity in Tennessee deterred Carroll from such a step. Nevertheless, the latter supported Bell against Grundy in the election for Congress in 1827, and this brought down on his head the ire of the "Old Hero" who ardently desired the election of Grundy.¹³

It was in 1829 that the crisis was reached in the Jackson-Carroll feud. It seems that Carroll was on the verge of leaving the Jackson party. Had he failed in the gubernatorial election of that year it is entirely probable that he would have deserted Jackson, welded his friends with the disorganized elements of the opposition and formed at once a powerful anti-Jackson party.¹⁴ Whether such a party would have been as strong and

⁹Very little seems to be known about the break. Abernethy, in "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy," and Bassett, in the preface to the *Correspondence of Jackson*, II, both mention it. There is no evidence of a break in Jackson's correspondence, although there are no letters between Jackson and Carroll in the period around 1816, when the estrangement began.

¹⁰See Phelan, 252-255; Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy," 68-71; and Augustus C. Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson* (N. Y., 1904), II, 184-186, for accounts of Carroll's party in Tennessee. Buell is the least reliable, being too enthusiastic in his treatment of Carroll.

¹¹Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, 253; Jackson to Coffee, Pensacola, Aug. 26, 1821, *Correspondence of Jackson*, III, 116.

¹²Jackson to Coffee, Hermitage, March 10, 1823, *ibid.*, III, 192.

¹³Nashville *Republican Banner*, August 18, 1835.

¹⁴John C. McLeMore to Andrew J. Donelson, Nashville, April 5, 1829, in Donelson Papers, II (Mss. Library of Congress). McLeMore married a niece of Mrs. Jackson and was one of Jackson's most intimate friends in Nashville. Some of the more prominent leaders who led the disaffected elements in Tennessee were Jessie

successful as the one later created by Bell and White is problematical. It is fairly certain, though, that the character of the political situation in Tennessee for the next few years hinged on the outcome of the elections in 1829.

Carroll found himself opposed by Sam Houston, who was seeking re-election. Houston had become governor in 1827 when Carroll was ineligible for re-election because of a constitutional provision that forbade a governor to serve more than three consecutive terms. Houston was an intimate friend of General Jackson, and it was evident that the "Old Hero" would support him against Carroll.¹⁵ A senator was to be elected in 1829 and Jackson was very anxious to see Felix Grundy sent to Washington. Thus the year 1829 was fraught with possibilities of future trouble for Jackson and his party.

Dissatisfaction in Tennessee with Jackson's cabinet and other appointments aggravated the political situation which became critical in 1829. John C. McLemore wrote of the danger:¹⁶

However inexcusable may be still the fact, as far as I am informed and believe to exist, and our best friends are obliged to see and acknowledge it, therefore it is unwise to close our eyes against it. The aspect of things here from the several signs discoverable, looks very favorably towards the organization of an opposition in Tennessee, and if the leading spirits can keep up the kind of silent excitement, slanders and discontent which I am advised by several of my friends are endeavored to be kept up, you need not be surprised to

Benton, Col. William P. Anderson, Thomas D. Arnold, John McNairy and Newton Cannon. These men, for one reason or other, had been alienated from Jackson. Benton, especially hated the General with great bitterness. These men had respectable followings in their particular sections and all of them were active against Jackson. That the discontent with Jackson and his policies became so nearly statewide may be attributed to a certain extent to these men. See John McNairy to Jackson, Sept. 3, 1823, *Correspondence of Jackson*, III, 305; Jackson to Lewis, July 28, 1828, *ibid.*, 324; Jackson to Lewis, Aug. 16, 1828, *ibid.*, 424; Richard C. Dunlap to Jackson, Aug. 10, 1821, *ibid.*, IV; statement of William P. Anderson, quoted in Heiskell, *Jackson*, II, 455 (account of break with Jackson); Thomas D. Arnold, *To the Freemen of the Counties of Cocke, Sevier, Grainger, Jefferson, Claiborne, Knox and Blount* (pamphlet dated May 16, 1829, in Library of Congress); Oliver P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee* (N. Y., 1912), 56-57; Jonesborough *Whig*, May 5, 1841.

¹⁵See Marquis James, *The Raven, A Biography of Sam Houston* (Indianapolis, 1929), 67-85, for an interesting account of Jackson's friendship for Houston, and for the Houston-Carroll contest of 1829.

¹⁶McLemore to Donelson, Nashville, April 5, 1829, in Donelson Papers, II.

hear of a Clay party or some kind of a party with a Governor [undoubtedly means Carroll] at their head, the time is favorable for the promotion of these results. . . .

It was apparent that a great deal depended on keeping Carroll satisfied. McLemore held the opinion that the opposition would be helpless without Carroll.¹⁷

The situation became worse when a movement was started to send the defeated candidate for governor, whether Carroll or Houston, to the United States Senate. Pledges were even extracted from the candidates for the legislature to that effect.¹⁸ So Jackson was faced with either the disaffection of Carroll, which might prove serious, or his election to the Senate. As the President preferred Grundy, it was very essential that Carroll be removed from state politics. McLemore wrote:¹⁹

Houston will be supported as a Jackson man—Carroll will run upon his military fame while he will and does defy anyone to show or prove that he is unfriendly to Jackson—yet the anti-Jackson men will not fall out with him nor distrust his devotion to them and will no doubt give him all their support—Carroll's military fame is great and you know that he has a lot of personal friends formed in the army and you know he is very poor and absolutely needy of employment to support his family—the cry now is raised that if Major Eaton and Major Lewis are to get fat offers, and General Jackson shall neglect Carroll, who was a companion in the dangers and glories which raised him to the President's chair, it will be very offensive to the people of Tennessee. This view of the matter will keep up the excitement—to ensure his election. You very well remember the men in East Tennessee who entertain deadly hostility to General Jackson are united to Carroll and he to them. You remember that the same thing is true in relation to the General's enemies in West Tennessee. . . .

It seems to have been clear to McLemore and other Jackson leaders in Tennessee that Carroll, by uniting his friends with other "antis" into an opposition, could organize a powerful

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Robert L. Caruthers to Donelson, Nashville, April 8, 1829, *ibid.*

¹⁹McLemore to Donelson, April 5, 1829, *ibid.*

political party in the state. As Lewis, Eaton, Donelson, and White had been withdrawn from state politics the danger was a real one. It was now proposed that Carroll be appointed Brigadier-General in the place of General Scott, should the latter retire, or to some lucrative foreign post, preferably in South America. Jackson agreed to the latter proposal.²⁰ It was thought that this exhibition of favor on the part of the national government to Carroll would bind his friends closer to the administration, break the back of the opposition by depriving it of an able leader, and at the same time place Grundy and Houston in the offices of senator and governor respectively.²¹ However, the plan was never put into operation. Houston's tragic separation from his wife, his resignation of the governorship and subsequent departure from the state, cleared the situation.²² Carroll was elected governor, Grundy went into the Senate and the opponents of Jackson in Tennessee were forced to wait six more years for Bell and White to lead them out of the political wilderness. After 1829 there is no evidence that Carroll was seriously tempted to desert the Jackson party.

In 1829 Andrew Jackson became President of the United States. He had been a dominating influence in the political life of Tennessee for several years, and as such the party struggles within the state raged around him. His transfer to the national arena did not bring to an end his participation in the affairs of his home state. Instead, the political strife that had centered around him in Tennessee politics was merely transferred to the capital of the nation. Tennessee politics began to exert a much greater influence on the affairs of the nation while at the same time national politics affected the political situation to a greater extent within the state. If anything, Jackson, after he became President, was a greater storm center in Tennessee politics than he had formerly been. This was partly due to the fact that Tennessee was rich in men of ability, such as Felix Grundy, John H. Eaton, James K. Polk, Hugh Lawson White, William B. Lewis, John Bell, and John Catron. Although they all professed loyalty to the Jackson party, it was inevitable that there should be among them some jealousies and unsatisfied ambitions. It would have taken a man with greater tact and

²⁰Caruthers to Donelson, April 8, 1829, *ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²James, *Houston*, 67-85, gives a good account of this episode.

diplomacy than Andrew Jackson possessed to have kept such an array of political leaders working together in perfect harmony. Furthermore, it was not a normal condition to have only one of the great parties of the country present in the state, as had been the case since Tennessee's entrance into the Union. It is not surprising that within a few years the inevitable came to pass: John Bell and Hugh Lawson White, dissatisfied with Jackson and his methods for various reasons, succumbed to the temptation and organized a great opposition party in Tennessee. It was mainly in the realm of national politics that these men broke with Jackson, whose election to the presidency was to set in motion a series of events that profoundly influenced the future political complexion of the state. The most immediate effect was to furnish the growing groups of the discontented in the state with greater leaders.

Felix Grundy was one of the most important figures in Tennessee during this period. If any of the prominent leaders in Tennessee at this time could be said to have been the leader of the state rights and planter element in the state it was Felix Grundy. His great friendship for Calhoun and his support of certain principles held by the great South Carolinian, prior to the latter's break with Jackson, are evidences of this fact.²³ Grundy was also a loyal champion of Andrew Jackson, and the latter in turn, during the earlier years especially, supported Grundy at every opportunity. The bitter quarrel between Jackson and Calhoun placed Grundy in a very embarrassing position. It is entirely possible that Jackson's friendship for Grundy cooled a little at this time, although the President never voiced any open opposition to him.

The break between Jackson and Calhoun over the Seminole affair, and the subsequent nullification quarrel, forced Grundy to decide between the President and the Vice-president. In fact his entire political future was seriously menaced as he was caught in the struggle between his two friends. It was Grundy's sincere desire to prevent a break between Jackson and Calhoun. As a result of his efforts to accomplish this end he placed himself in a very dangerous position. Grundy and Richard M. Johnson made a great effort to have the correspondence, rela-

²³See Grundy's speech on the Foot Resolutions, *Congressional Debates*, 21 Congress, 1 Session, p. 215.

tive to Calhoun's position on Jackson's Seminole campaign, published in the *Washington Globe*, the new Jackson organ, but failed.²⁴ Grundy then enlisted the aid of Eaton, who at first was hostile to Van Buren, to have published Calhoun's pamphlet which was designed to vindicate the South Carolinian at the expense of Van Buren. It was Van Buren's opinion that Eaton and Grundy would not hesitate to sacrifice him in a crisis.²⁵ Eaton was to get Jackson's approval and then have Blair publish the correspondence in the *Globe*.²⁶ Eaton could not, or did not, fulfill his part of the agreement. The outcome of the whole effort was disastrous to Calhoun, and Grundy himself narrowly missed having Jackson's wrath brought down on his head. The precarious position in which Grundy found himself is shown by Jackson's letter to Donelson:²⁷

Look at the late publication [Calhoun's pamphlet] of Green, [intimating] that the publication of Calhoun was shown to my confidential friend [Eaton] and approved by him, from which it was inferred that it met with my approval. A more palpable falsehood was never uttered . . . it will meet its reward, so soon as Eaton is able to write. In the meantime you can ask Judge Grundy where he was, when by his invitation Eaton called at his lodgings, and who was in consultation with him at Mr. Ingham's, and from whom he got the manuscript he read to Major Eaton that evening, and why it was I was not made acquainted with the intended publication of Calhoun's book. I was thunderstruck when I saw the publication and on inquiry found out the source and those concerned.

This is an excellent explanation of why Jackson preferred Eaton for the Senate over Grundy in 1833. It also appears that Eaton used the situation to advance his own position at Grundy's expense. Had Jackson become completely alienated from Grundy, because of the Seminole affair, it is entirely possible that the latter would have followed Calhoun's example in becoming an

²⁴Martin Van Buren, *The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren* (Washington, 1920), 382.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 380.

²⁶*Ibid.*; John Spencer Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (N. Y., 1911), II, 517.

²⁷Jackson to Donelson, Washington, March 24, 1831, *Correspondence of Jackson*, IV, 253.

ally of the Whig party, if not a permanent member.

Grundy had had a close call in the Seminole affair, but when the nullification crisis occurred, he was found among the leaders of the Jackson forces in the Senate. However, this episode was an embarrassing one for Grundy, and he was again placed in a precarious position. In 1830 he had made a speech on the Foote resolutions in the Senate, in which he supported Hayne. Incidentally he expressed his approval of nullification. He declared: "If a state possesses the power to act as I have shown, the necessary consequence is, that the act of Congress must cease to operate in the state, and Congress must acquiesce, by abandoning the power, or obtain an express grant from the great source from which all its powers are drawn. The General Government will have no right to use force."²⁸ Calhoun praised this speech highly at the time and had copies of it mailed to his friends.²⁹

Grundy was chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the Senate, whose duty it was to report and guide the Force bill through that body. There was no doubt that Grundy was changing his ideas on nullification. He led the Jackson forces in their support of the Force Bill. In the closing speech on the Force Bill, he declared emphatically that "The state of South Carolina possesses no constitutional right or power to obstruct the execution of the tariff laws. That the Federal Judiciary is competent to decide whether these laws are valid or not . . . and that the ordinance and laws of South Carolina will not afford the citizens thus tried any shield or protection whatever."³⁰ Because of this change of position Grundy was subjected to the taunts and gibes of opposing Senators. Van Buren commented on Grundy's predicament: "One of the most amusing scenes I witnessed in the Senate, . . . was produced by Mr. Clay's attempting to implicate Mr. Grundy in Mr. Calhoun's nullification scheme."³¹ There is no evidence, however, that the friendship between Grundy and Calhoun was lessened to any great extent by the former's part in that struggle.

²⁸*Congressional Debates*, 21 Congress, 1 Session, part 1, p. 210.

²⁹Calhoun to Christopher Van Deventer, Washington, March 20, 1830, *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun* (American Historical Association, Report for 1899, II, 292).

³⁰Speech of Felix Grundy on the Revenue Collection Bill, Feb. 20, 1833, *Congressional Debates*, 22 Congress, 2 Session (1832-33).

³¹Van Buren, *Autobiography*, 382.

Grundy must not be condemned too harshly for his change of attitude toward nullification. It is certainly true that in the beginning he did not expect any crisis to result from the doctrine. He was by nature cautious and his spirit probably revolted against the extreme doctrine of Calhoun. It is true that he did expose himself to criticism and that he changed his position rather than break with Jackson. Grundy was no longer a young man in 1833 and he shrank from an open quarrel with the "Old Hero." Regardless of his reasons, he handled his problem with honor and ability, while at the same time he retained the friendship of both Calhoun and Jackson. A less able man could not have done that.

Jackson's secret support of Eaton against Grundy in the Senatorial election of 1833 was no doubt prompted by the latter's part in the quarrel with Calhoun. The President probably felt also that Eaton would prove to be a safer man and more easily handled than Grundy. Then he was very anxious to compensate Eaton for his loss of the office of Secretary of War, and he also desired that Tennessee rebuke the slanderers of Mrs. Eaton by sending her husband to the Senate.³² Jackson denied any open objection to Grundy, but from a perusal of the correspondence relative to the contest, it is evident that Jackson was using every influence to elect Eaton.³³ The contest was a close one and was not decided until Ephraim H. Foster, later a Whig leader, threw his support to Grundy. The result of this election was a forceful demonstration of the fact that Jackson's

³²Jackson to a Committee of Eaton's friends in the Tennessee Legislature, sent through John C. McLemore, Sept. [?], 1832, *Correspondence of Jackson*, IV, 478. Eaton was not very popular with a large number of Tennesseans. Many resented his appointment as Secretary of War over White. Jackson's loyal support of Eaton seriously affected the position of the former in Tennessee. The "Eaton Affair" influenced the political situation generally in Tennessee. Little sympathy was given the Eatons, while the Donelsons, who opposed Jackson in the social war, were very popular there. It is evident that Eaton injured Jackson's hold on Tennessee to a certain extent. For good accounts of Eaton and Tennessee politics see William O. Lynch, *Fifty Years of Party Warfare* (Indianapolis, 1931), 373, 398-399; Bassett, *Andrew Jackson*, II, 458-474; Martin Van Buren, *Autobiography*, 340-341; McLemore to Donelson, April 5, 1829, in Donelson Papers, II; Carroll to Van Buren, August 4, 1829, in Van Buren Papers, IX; Jackson to John Coffee, March 19, 1829, *Correspondence of Jackson*, IV, 13; Jackson to Coffee, Dec. 6, 1830, *ibid.*, 211; Jackson to Eaton, August 3, 1830, *ibid.*, 168; Samuel F. Bradford to Lewis, Feb. 28, 1832, in Heiskell, *Jackson*, III, 525-526.

³³McLemore to Jackson, Nashville, Sept. 25, 1832, *Correspondence of Jackson*, IV, 476. Carroll to Jackson, August 9, 1833, in Heiskell, *Jackson*, III, p. 517.

hold on Tennessee was weakening, that no longer could he hope to dominate the state as in the past.

If it is true that Grundy had been the outstanding leader of the state rights element in Tennessee, then the members of that faction must have been disappointed at Grundy's change of attitude. Therefore, left leaderless, they were probably more eager to follow John Bell and Hugh Lawson White, when those men raised the standard of revolt against Jackson.

John Bell was the nemesis of the Jackson party in Tennessee. It was he who organized the Whig party in the state, and who remained its most notable leader throughout its existence.³⁴ The *Nashville Union*, the leading Jackson paper in the state, stated in 1843: "Mr. Bell was virtually the creator of the Whig party in Tennessee. . . . Even the late Judge White, without the aid, talents and popularity of Mr. Bell, could not have formed, organized, and built up a successful Whig party in Tennessee."³⁵ In the struggle over the candidacy of White for the presidency, Jackson blamed Bell for all the opposition his party was encountering at home.³⁶ It is possible that no other man, with the exception of Jackson, influenced the course of Tennessee politics in the period before the Civil War to a greater degree than did Bell.

The facts in regard to the relations of Jackson and Bell in the years before 1834 are rather obscure, but it is certain that Bell's hostility to Jackson was a product of the latter's intense partisanship. Bell did not signify his intention to enter the field of national politics until 1825. In that year he published his political creed. It was a strong Jacksonian document and left no doubt as to his loyalty to Tennessee's candidate for the presidency. He vigorously attacked the Adams administration.³⁷ Bell, like so many of the later Whig leaders, began his political career as a staunch Jacksonian.

The year 1827 was an important one in the career of Bell. It marked his first victory in the national political arena, and what was more important, the beginning of his hostility to Andrew

³⁴See Joshua Caldwell, "John Bell of Tennessee", in *American Historical Review*, IV, 652-664, and Abernethy, "Origin of the Whig Party in Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, for accounts of Bell's career.

³⁵*Nashville Union*, November 7, 1843.

³⁶Jackson to J. C. Guild, April 24, 1835, *Correspondence of Jackson*, V, 338.

³⁷*Public Statement of John Bell*, Sept. 25, 1825, in *Polk Papers*, II.

Jackson. In that year, as has been noted, Bell defeated Felix Grundy for the lower house of Congress. Jackson openly electioneered for Grundy, although Bell protested his loyalty to Jackson.³⁸ It is probable that Bell never forgot the election of 1827 and the antagonism which Jackson had manifested toward him. It was the beginning of the estrangement between the two men which, in later years, was to make possible the formation of the Whig party in Tennessee. For several years there was no open break between Jackson and Bell. In 1827, after his victory over Grundy, Bell reaffirmed his loyalty to the "Old Hero."³⁹ It was evident that he was not yet ready for a quarrel with the Jacksonians.

The course pursued by Bell and his attitude toward the leading issues of the period are important for an understanding of his later relations with Jackson. Prior to his break with Jackson there is no evidence of his being considered other than as a faithful supporter of the administration. However, after the speakership contest with Polk in 1834, which brought down on his head the wrath of the Jackson leaders, his earlier congressional career was closely scrutinized for evidences of disloyalty. His attitude toward certain questions, particularly the Bank and nullification, was then interpreted as being indicative of disloyalty to Jackson. It is probably true that Bell, still resentful of Jackson's opposition to him, did not support the administration as loyally as many others. It is possible that he even desired a break with Jackson, but was waiting for a chance to obtain favorable political affiliations. Fear of political destruction probably made him cautious and prompted him to wait and let the first break come from the other side.⁴⁰

Bell gave Jackson his loyal support in his course toward internal improvements,⁴¹ and there was no attack made on him for his course on this policy. It was Bell's course relative to the Bank of the United States that brought down on his head

³⁸Nashville *Republican and State Gazette*, July 31, 1837; *Washington Daily Globe*, October 15, 1836.

³⁹John Bell: *His Past History Connected with the Public Service*, published by the Democratic State Central Committee, 1860 (pamphlet in the Library of Congress).

⁴⁰Abernethy, "Origin of the Whig Party in Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, 506.

⁴¹John Bell to committee at Knoxville, Nov. 2, 1831, quoted in the *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, Nov. 21, 1831; see Bell's speech on the Cumberland Road, Feb. 10, 1829, in *Congressional Debates*, 20 Congress, 2 Session,

the accusation that he was for that institution, and that he had been disloyal to the administration. The fact is that his attitude was so favorable to the Bank that it brought forward the opinion of Thomas Cadwalader, one of the employees of the Bank in Tennessee, that "Bell will vote with us if he can."⁴² It was Bell's belief that some sort of a bank was necessary and that the existing bank should be rechartered with certain modifications. During the discussion of a petition for a recharter in 1832, Bell stated:⁴³

As to the propriety of rechartering the Bank, I will say that I am friendly to the policy of giving to, or maintaining the exercise of the power of this Government, of administering a corrective to a vitiated, excessive or fluctuating currency; and I hope that the proposition to recharter the Bank will assume such a shape that I can give my vote in favor of it. I am of the opinion that it is important, if not essential, to the safe and economical administration of the public revenue.

Bell supported the resolution to investigate the affairs of the bank, and it was his idea that the proposition to recharter the bank should be postponed until after the election of 1832, it being his opinion that the bank was too important to be used as a political issue.⁴⁴ In this he held the same view as did William B. Lewis.⁴⁵ In spite of Bell's advocacy of postponement, the bill passed the House. Bell voted with the administration against it. The *Daily Globe*, after Bell's break with Jackson, severely attacked his course as follows, the intimation being that he had succeeded in carrying water on both shoulders:⁴⁶

Mr. Bell united with Mr. McLane, Secretary of the Treasury, in the effort to prevent the question of rechartering the Bank from coming before the people . . . by being involved in the presidential election. . . . Mr. Clayton of Georgia had moved a resolution for a preliminary enquiry as the means of defeating the Bank

⁴²Thomas Cadwalader to Nicholas Biddle, Washington, Dec. 25, 1831, in *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle*, edited by R. C. McGrane (N. Y., 1919), 156.

⁴³Speech of John Bell on the Clayton Resolutions, March 8, 1832, in *Congressional Debates*, 22 Congress, 1 Session.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵William B. Lewis to James A. Hamilton, January 1, 1832, *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton* (N. Y., 1869), p. 3.

⁴⁶Washington *Daily Globe*, June 2, 1835.

by a direct charge. Mr. Bell seized hold of this proposition as a means of effecting his policy of postponement. . . . As the Bank had the power to carry its charter through both Houses without the vote of Mr. Bell, he voted against it. His speech, his influence, his counsels were for the Bank—his ineffectual vote, for his constituents and the President.

In 1833-34, during the great struggle in Congress over the removal of deposits from the bank, Bell voted consistently with the administration forces to sustain the President. However, he took no active part in debate, but maintained instead an "ominous" silence throughout the whole struggle. For this he was severely condemned by Jackson and Polk.⁴⁷ There is no evidence in the speeches and letters of Bell that he ever definitely supported the bank, as was later charged by the Jackson party after he had become a Whig. His views were seemingly no more favorable to the bank than those of Lewis and certain other Jacksonians. That no attacks were launched against Bell at the time of the bank struggle was probably due to the fear, on the part of the administration, of causing a rift in the Jackson party in Tennessee. When it was believed, after the speakership struggle of 1834, that Bell had broken with Jackson, the fury of the administration was unleashed against him because of his course on the bank.

Bell's course during the nullification crisis was an interesting one. His true position is rather difficult to understand. There are evidences that he sympathized with South Carolina, and he appeared on the surface at least to be the loyal supporter of the administration. He was a member of the Judiciary Committee in the House, and as such he presented the report on the Force Bill. It was over this report that the contest was waged in the House. It brought down on Bell's head the bold charge that he had written the doctrine of nullification into his report.⁴⁸ It is true that, in scrutinizing this report, one gets the impression that it was written by a man more in sympathy with Calhoun and Tyler than with the administration. In justice to Bell it must be said that, being a conservative Southerner, he was

⁴⁷Jackson to Van Buren, Hermitage, Aug. 16, 1834, *Correspondence of Jackson*, V, 282; Polk to Cave Johnson, March 30, 1835, in *Polk Papers*, XVII.

⁴⁸*Congressional Debates*, 22 Congress, 2 Session, IX, 1678.

probably holding out the hand of friendship to South Carolina. The report was extremely mild and conciliatory. The exercise of military force by the Executive was disparaged, and its constitutionality questioned.⁴⁹ It was even asserted by the administration forces that the report recommended the repeal of the tariff as a remedy for nullification. The following paragraph from that document stimulated the contest:⁵⁰

When, therefore, a law is made by the Government so oppressive and destructive to the interests of the people of one of these states, as to determine them to resist it at every hazard, it is evidence of the justice of their complaints, which should not be disregarded, and it is the bounden duty of the Legislature, instead of devising means to enforce it, to modify the obnoxious law.

This, according to administration men, sustained nullification in all its width and breadth.

The struggle then turned upon a proposal to print several thousand copies of the report for distribution. This Bell staunchly opposed, stating that the House had not had time to consider the bill, and, that if printed and distributed, the report might leave the impression with the people that the lower house had sanctioned the position taken in the report, which was not true.⁵¹ Evidently, Bell did not wish this report to go before the people for fear of bringing down upon his head the denunciations of those opposed to nullification. At the same time, it is probably true that he was seeking greater favor in the eyes of Calhoun. This might have been the basis of Jackson's later accusation that Bell was seeking to form with Calhoun an opposition party in the South.⁵² Bell was extremely slow to fight Jackson and he materially aided the passage of the Force Bill through the House.

By the close of the year 1833, Bell was no doubt thinking seriously of breaking with the Jackson party. In Washington and in Nashville there were rumors that such action was contemplated.⁵³ In looking back over his course for the preceding few

⁴⁹See Report on the Revenue Collection Bill, Feb. 8, 1833, in *ibid.*, part II, Appendix, 200.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹*Ibid.*, part II, p. 1676.

⁵²Jackson to J. C. Guild, April 24, 1835, *Correspondence of Jackson*, V, 338.

⁵³James Walker to Polk, Oct. 20, 1833, Polk Papers, X. Walker was a brother-

years, he was probably pleased with his work. If he should break with Jackson, he could reasonably depend on the bank element for support, and his course during the nullification crisis made it possible for him to be able to depend on the friendship and aid of Calhoun and Clay. Bell probably had little faith in nullification, nor was he an ardent champion of the bank, but he must have realized that a movement in the South, led by himself, could not get very far without the support of Calhoun, Clay and the friends of the bank. This proved to be the case when the revolt against Jackson occurred in Tennessee. Principles were easily forgotten in the eager effort to form a combination by effecting alliances against the "Old Hero."

The Whig party in Tennessee was in reality organized around the candidacy of Hugh Lawson White for the presidency, although White waited several years before he took the name of Whig. While Bell was the creator and guiding genius of the party, White was the only man, among the leaders who revolted against Jackson, upon whom all the discordant elements of opposition in the state could unite. Because of the veneration and respect in which he was held by the people, he was the greatest unifying force in the party in Tennessee throughout his association with it. White, next to Jackson, was probably the most loved and respected man in the state at this time.

The relations between White and Jackson in the period before 1834 were very significant, and had a great influence on the political complexion of the state. White entered political life as a warm supporter of Jackson, and, as was true with Bell, he was alienated by the partisanship of the "Old Hero." White entered the Senate of the United States in 1825.⁵⁴ He worked with great zeal to bring Jackson into the presidency. The two leaders were intimate friends, and Jackson valued highly White's counsel and opinions.⁵⁵ It was very gratifying to White to see his old friend in the highest office in the land.

The beginning of White's alienation from Jackson came almost simultaneously with Jackson's elevation to the presidential office. Having had a great deal to do with Jackson's success,

in-law of Polk. He was identified with state politics for many years and his letters to Polk throughout the period give a good insight into the politics of the time.

⁵⁴See Scott, *A Memoir of Hugh Lawson White*, for the most complete account of White's career. Extremely valuable for letters and speeches.

⁵⁵Jackson to White, Oct. 17, 1828, *ibid.*, 246.

White naturally expected to continue his influence with the new President. The feeling of White toward Jackson began to cool after the selection of the Secretary of War. Jackson was very anxious to have at least one of his close Tennessee friends in his official family. He wanted White or Eaton.⁵⁶ It is extremely doubtful as to which of the two men Jackson preferred. It may be that Eaton, who was a younger man and more easy to handle, was Jackson's choice. However, Jackson seems never to have indicated any decided preference. That White desired the place is evident from the following letter that he wrote to Jackson:⁵⁷

Should you be elected I feel deep solicitude that the government should in all respects be administered upon the principles which the present and future ages will approve, and upon such principles as will secure the blessings of civil liberty to the sovereign people themselves. This solicitude is felt on account of the public, and on account of you individually. As to myself, individually, it is of little importance to me what is to happen. Out of twelve children I have only six left, and the eldest of them at this time seriously threatened. . . . Still I am not soured with the world nor am I disposed to play the part of a monk. We were put here for activity and usefulness and while here I am not disposed to avoid the discharge of duty in any respect.

The above statement is especially significant in view of the fact, that, in 1831, White refused the post of Secretary of War, giving as one of his reasons the solicitude he had for his family.

Eaton was very anxious for a place in the cabinet in 1829. The manner in which he dealt with White is of interest. It seems that Jackson finally left it to his two friends to determine which one should have the post. In a very skillfully worded letter to White Eaton aided himself materially, seemingly with premeditated purpose:⁵⁸

A letter received some time ago from General Jackson, stated he desired you or me to be near him. In a recent conversation with him, he remarked that he had had a full and free conversation with you; and at the close remarked that he desired to have me with him. I pre-

⁵⁶Jackson to White, April 9, 1831, *Correspondence of Jackson*, IV, 258.

⁵⁷White to Jackson, October 4, 1828, *ibid.*, 336.

⁵⁸Eaton to White, Feb. 3, 1829, in Scott, *Memoir of White*, 266.

sumed, without enquiring, that he had probably talked with you on the subject, and that you had declined accepting any situation, as you before had told me would be your feelings. Nothing definite has taken place between General Jackson and myself, and I hope you know me well enough and my regard and friendship for you, to know this, that I would never permit myself to stand in competition with any desire you may entertain. If you have any desire, say to me in confidence, and it shall be so received. If you have none, then in reference to every and all consideration I should consent to any such appointment. Think of this, and give me your opinion frankly.

White was a man with a high sense of honor, and he could do nothing but step aside and permit Eaton to have the post. There is no doubt that he was disappointed at this turn of events. It is possible that Eaton's action, combined with the idea that Jackson might have had a knowledge of it, dampened White's ardor for the new administration. It is certain that his relations with Jackson were never again as cordial as in former days.

The political situation was no doubt discouraging to White. He had failed to obtain a position in Jackson's official family, and in addition to that, he saw that Eaton, Lewis, and Van Buren, together with others of the "Kitchen Cabinet," were gradually supplanting himself in the President's counsels.⁵⁹ He thought seriously of retiring from the Senate to private life, and it was probably due to the entreaties of Jackson and his friends that he did not do this.⁶⁰ Senator Tazewell of Virginia wrote of the relations of Jackson and White at this period:⁶¹

When the Senate adjourned in 1829, Judge White went home and did not return until the commencement of the

⁵⁹Jackson's friendship for Lewis and the position the latter held in Jackson's confidence brought forward a vigorous protest from certain Tennesseans. Many of the Jackson men in Tennessee felt that Lewis was too small a man to be so close to the President. Every effort was made to have Jackson dismiss him, but with no success. There is no doubt that Lewis was unpopular in Tennessee, and that Jackson's loyalty to him weakened the Jackson party there. See William O. Lynch, *Fifty Years of Party Warfare*, 397-398; Dunlap to Jackson, June 30, 1831, in Heiskell, *Jackson*, I, 585; Alfred Balch to Jackson, July 21, 1831, in *Correspondence of Jackson*, IV, 314; Dunlap to Jackson, Aug. 10, 1831, *ibid.*, 331; Jackson to Dunlap, August 29, 1831, *ibid.*, IV, 337.

⁶⁰Scott, *Memoir of White*, 267; Jackson to White, Oct. 12, 1829, *ibid.*; Overton to White, October 5, 1830, *ibid.*, p. 268.

⁶¹Statement of Tazewell, *ibid.*, 246.

next session. . . . Very soon after I took my seat I saw plainly that new relations had sprung up between the President and some of his former friends. Judge White did not seem to have observed this; and his feelings toward General Jackson remained unchanged, although it was evident to all others, that he no longer occupied the same place in the estimation of the President which he had done. I never knew the cause of this apparent estrangement, but I thought it might be easily conjectured.

Possibly White entertained some hopes of succeeding Jackson as President. The increasing influence of Van Buren with the General, and various rumors that Jackson was grooming his Secretary of State to be his successor, aroused the ire of not the jealousy of White. In 1830 he stated: "I have not, nor will I commit myself to support any particular pretender after Jackson is off the stage. Of course I shall never have any of my exertions applauded in the *Telegraph*, nor in any of the papers published here while things remain as at present."⁶² In 1831, when Jackson reorganized his cabinet, he offered White the post of Secretary of War, just vacated by Eaton. White refused the honor and gave domestic misfortune, inability to handle the position, and repugnance to accepting an office from a friend as his reasons.⁶³ It is evident that these were not the real reasons for the refusal, as all of them had existed in 1829, and White was then anxious for the office. His spirit of independence probably revolted at the idea that it might appear that Jackson could shift him at will to fit in with his plans. Furthermore, he may have decided at this time not to have a part in the movement to bring Van Buren to the presidency. This he claimed later was one of the determining influences in his refusal. He did not have good reasons for feeling so sure of Jackson's plans in 1831, but by 1837 he was willing to write the following:⁶⁴

Jackson reorganized his cabinet on the principle that "no member of his cabinet should be a candidate to succeed him." Now is not this admission proof as clear as "evidence from Holy Writ" that my statement is

⁶²White to Fred S. Heiskell, April 28, 1830, Heiskell, *Jackson*, I, 658.

⁶³White to Jackson, April 20, 1831, *Correspondence of Jackson*, IV, 267.

⁶⁴Reply of Hugh Lawson White to Jackson, *Knoxville Register*, July 12, 1837.

correct? Mr. Van Buren, from March, 1829-31, was a member of the cabinet, then it was determined that he should succeed Jackson, and it was an article in the Jackson creed . . . and shown to some of the members and approved by them; it became essential, that he should cease to be a member of the cabinet, and he resigned accordingly.

If it is true that White was ambitious for the presidency in 1831, then his statement was also an admission, on his part, that he refused the post in order to place no obstacle in his own path. Jackson and his friends brushed aside all of White's objections, and made every appeal possible to him to take the place. Jackson appealed on the score of personal friendship, and the absolute need of White's assistance; John Coffee wrote him that his refusal would cause a split in the Jackson party.⁶⁵ White remained firm and refused all entreaties. This episode, more than any other, aided in bringing about a complete breach between Jackson and White.

White's attitude and course in the Senate, prior to 1834, were consistent with the principles of the administration. On the question of the Bank of the United States, White was more in harmony with Jackson than was Bell. There is no doubt that White's ideas on the bank influenced Jackson's action toward that institution. In answer to a letter from Jackson in 1833 requesting his opinion as to the bank, White replied:⁶⁶

I think the fiscal concerns of the Government can always be managed through the State Banks, and that a bank chartered by the United States will never be indispensable to the collection or disbursement of the public money. . . . This charter I would not renew even if the Government were not a stockholder.

White never changed his position as to the bank, although in the last years of his life he was in active coöperation with the Whig party. He sustained the President in his veto of the Bank bill, and in general approved the course of the administration toward that institution.⁶⁷

White invoked the ire of Jackson when he was serving as

⁶⁵Jackson to White, April 9, 1831, *Correspondence of Jackson*, IV, 258; Coffee to White, May 3, 1831, Scott, *Memoir of White*, 268.

⁶⁶White to Jackson, April 11, 1833, *Correspondence of Jackson*, V, 46.

⁶⁷*Congressional Debates*, 22 Congress, 1 Session.

chairman of the Senate. He was elected to that post on December 3, 1832, after the resignation of Calhoun as Vice-president. Upon his shoulders, therefore, was placed the responsible task of presiding over that body through the stormy short session of 1832-33. One duty that fell to him was the appointment of the committee that took charge of the Compromise Tariff of 1833 which brought about a termination of the nullification crisis. It was over the appointment of this committee that White clashed with Jackson. He chose John M. Clayton of Delaware as its chairman. This brought forward an energetic protest from Jackson. It was the opinion of the President that the administration should have the chairmanship, and he made an effort to persuade White to select someone else.⁶⁸ White's refusal brought forward the statement from Jackson that Clayton's appointment was an insult to the administration.⁶⁹ White took the ground that, as the tariff proposal was an opposition measure, the opposition should have the chairmanship of the committee and the majority of its members. He also stated that he selected Clayton because of his knowledge of tariffs in general and because he did not come from either North or South.⁷⁰ Clayton, a partisan of Clay, did much by his able management to get the bill through both House and Senate.⁷¹ It is easy to understand Jackson's position. It was a period of great tension, and a victory for the administration was greatly desired. There is no doubt that White's stand on the Clayton appointment widened the breach between him and Jackson. Henry A. Wise commenting on the affair declared: "And this, Sir produced the first cause of difference between him and General Jackson. He muzzled the bloodhounds, disappointed his chief of his prey, aided the Compromise, and gave peace to a distracted people."⁷²

It is evident that by March, 1833, the relations between White and the Jackson party were strained almost to the breaking point. White's breach with Blair and the *Globe* had aggravated the situation.⁷³ It is evident that the events of the five years,

⁶⁸Jackson to Grundy, Feb. 13, 1833, *American Historical Magazine*, V, 137.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰White's reply to Jackson, *Knoxville Register*, July 12, 1837.

⁷¹See Parton, *Jackson*, III, 478-89, for a good account of Clayton's work in getting the Tariff Bill adopted.

⁷²Comment of Henry A. Wise, Scott, *Memoir of White*, 239.

⁷³White to F. S. Heiskell, May 18, 1832, *ibid.*, 270-271.

1829-34, had created a situation in which the slightest pretext would precipitate a rupture. That pretext, in the shape of Martin Van Buren's candidacy for the presidency, was already appearing on the horizon.

From a study of the relations between Jackson and certain political leaders in Tennessee, it is evident that conditions existed prior to 1834 that made possible and easy the rise of a new party. Discontent with Jackson's policies and personal activities in relation to Tennessee politics had been steadily increasing, not only among certain outstanding men, but among the people of the state generally. All that was necessary to produce a revolt on a proper occasion was the appearance of able leadership to head the disaffected elements. This was furnished in 1834, when Bell and White broke with Jackson and assumed the direction of his foes. The Whig party in Tennessee began to take form, and it dominated the state, with few exceptions, for the next twenty years.

WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW AS AN EDITOR*

By VERTON M. QUEENER

It is well to remember while we are gathered in Maryville to study a bit about William G. Brownlow, Methodist circuit rider, editor, and politician, that he was no stranger here. Almost exactly one hundred years ago he said to some Maryville College students: "Keep cool boys, keep cool, we have come to preach you the *true* gospel, and that is what you are not accustomed to in this place."¹ In his Jonesboro *Monthly Review* he said of another sermon that he preached in Maryville: "For four and one-fourth hours, we held forth to a crowded house, on this day, in the celebrated town of Maryville—in full view of the beautiful picturesque *Theological Seminary*—where Christian morality towers aloft in grandeur and sublimity—where error and superstition repose in all their romantic beauty—where Calvinism, in its multifarious forms, propels its poison through its diversified channels. Here, we performed with a peach tree rod in imitation of Dr. Isaac Anderson²—spoke of his lately taking up Mesmerism—read his letters to George Wright on sorcery—the whole presenting a succession of the most enchanting topics, done up in our most approved style!"³

Brownlow did not always come here to preach against the Presbyterians or the Presbyterian College. In 1858 he was here and sold three hundred shares of Southern Pacific Railroad stock which shortly became worthless.⁴ In this paper, however, space permits consideration of only one phase of the many sided

*An address delivered at the meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society at Maryville College, January 9, 1931. It is based largely upon Mr. Queener's Master's thesis, "The Pre-Civil War Period of the Life of William G. Brownlow" (Univ. of Tennessee, 1930) [Ed.].

¹William G. Brownlow, *Helps to the Study of Presbyterianism* (Knoxville, 1834), 265. Maryville was a Presbyterian college and theological seminary.

²The founder and for many years president of Maryville College. According to Brownlow he sometimes hunted for stolen property by using a peach tree rod for a guide.

³Jonesboro *Monthly Review*, 92.

⁴*Whig*, April 24, 1858. Brownlow's newspaper will be referred to in this article as the *Whig*.

career of Brownlow, that of newspaper editor in the period before the Civil War.

To know Brownlow as an editor, as in any other capacity, it is essential to know first of all some of his personal characteristics. He was not called the "Fighting Parson" without reason. He was continually engaged in one or more verbal combats and, though fighting was one form of amusement during his day, he was engaged in altogether too many physical combats for a minister of the gospel. As an editor he frequently resolved to mend his ways—to quit being personal, and bitter—to make his paper of a more general and miscellaneous character, but before the ink was dry he would again be "heaping epithets upon the heads of scoundrels." That was his "chief natural gift," as he put it.⁵

After Brownlow had been an editor for one year he had this to say of his efforts: "A review of a complete file of *The Whig* will perhaps conduct any candid and dispassionate mind to the conclusion, that, in point of severity, and wholesale abuse of individuals, our paper is without a parallel in the history of the American press."⁶ In the first issue after the paper had been moved to Jonesboro he wrote: "*The Whig* will be courteous and respectful to all who *behave* themselves, and who when speaking of it or its editor or patrons, keep within the bounds of *moderation*. Toward those who act otherwise, this paper will conduct itself as heretofore *only more so*."⁷ Let us see how *The Whig* conducted itself.

During the campaign of 1840 the Whigs of Jonesboro frequently got together and sang Tippecanoe songs. Some Democrats objected to "this boisterous carrying on." Brownlow heard of this and wrote: "Those tender conscience, Godfearing, pious souls, were greatly afflicted in mind, because of the immorality of the Whigs, in singing those songs . . ." but "they nevertheless would steal, cheat, lie, quarrel, and run after strange women!" The brethren thus described were members of the Methodist or Presbyterian churches in Jonesboro, according to Brownlow. A week later he wrote: "It has been suggested since we published those strictures, that we ought either

⁵*Patriot and Martyr*, (Pamphlet. Speech by Brownlow in Cooper Institute, New York [Philadelphia, 1862]), 96.

⁶*Whig*, May 14, 1840.

⁷*Whig*, May 9, 1840.

to take back our remarks, or state that we did not allude to members of the churches in Jonesboro. We therefore say officially and in our proper place, and upon our responsibility that we alluded to Jonesboro and its vicinity, *and to no where else* and we take nothing back.”⁸

Brownlow’s fights were not always started in the columns of his paper though they most often ended there. He was a self-appointed disciplinarian for the Methodist church of Jonesboro. Of this duty he wrote: “On Sabbath evening last, we rose up in church in this town before Mr. Johnson commenced preaching, and denounced in the most unqualified terms, the previous conduct of some town boys, including a portion of the boys in our own office, and all other boys in the village who were concerned, without regard to church or politics. There was not an honest man, or gentleman, or good citizen in the church who did not approve. But there were some men present who have since disapproved and have attempted to create disturbance. . . . These base, sneaking, lying, cringing, pilfering, slanderous, contemptible, cowardly puppies, and miscreants, have said that we alluded to our foreman Mr. Bishop. We pronounce you, thus publicly, a base, black hearted pack of villains, separately and collectively, and guilty and mean, and contemptible, as you are, if you were not as wholly void of principle as so many brutes, you would not submit to this denunciation, any longer than you read this article, and can find us on the pavement, which shall be every two hours, for the next forty-eight, night only excepted.”⁹

Presumably Brownlow walked the pavement every two hours during the next forty-eight, night alone excepted, looking for a supposed enemy, but he was probably sure that he would not find one. Though he threatened many people, fought some few, and carried a pistol all the time,¹⁰ he was never anxious for physical combat. When he was campaigning against Andrew Johnson for a place in Congress he refused to take the stump in joint debate because it would mean a physical encounter.¹¹ When a rumor spread in Jonesboro that Brownlow was going to be shot on a certain night he took the town marshall, James W.

⁸*Whig*, Oct. 14, 1840.

⁹*Whig*, Sept. 22, 1841.

¹⁰*Whig*, Nov. 19, 1849.

¹¹*Whig*, July, 1845.

Nelson, home with him for the night.¹² At the appointed time a shot was fired into the living room; it missed Brownlow but hit the mantel piece. The would be assassin was never caught, but Landon C. Haynes got considerable free publicity over the affair.

Brownlow never fought a duel. He did make one attack on a rival after a bitter newspaper quarrel. Landon C. Haynes, editor of the Jonesboro *Sentinel*, was met by Brownlow one day on Jonesboro's main street. Brownlow had the Devil in his eye, a pistol in his right hand, and his walking cane in his left. He stopped when fifteen paces from Haynes and asked if Haynes was armed. Upon receiving a negative reply, though Haynes held his hand behind him, Brownlow changed his pistol to the left hand and his cane to the right and advanced as if to give Haynes a good old Andrew Jackson sort of caning. Haynes whipped his hand from behind and fired. The two men went into a catch-as-catch-can wrestling match with Brownlow telling the bystanders not to separate them. Shortly, blood was seen on Brownlow and the two men were pulled apart. Brownlow had received a flesh wound in the thigh. He was carried into a store for treatment. Haynes and the other "scoundrels of Jonesboro mounted their horses and rode away."¹³

Though Brownlow did not relish physical encounters he frequently went out of his way to engage in a newspaper war. The most notable of his editorial disputes up to the Civil War was with Miller McKee, editor of the Knoxville *Register*, which, like Brownlow's paper, was a supporter of the Whig party. Brownlow moved his paper to Knoxville in May, 1849. Before leaving Jonesboro some one interested in the *Register* told Brownlow that only one paper could live in a small town like Knoxville. Brownlow replied: "Very well, if only one paper can live in the town my paper will live and yours will die."¹⁴ But in his first editorial at Knoxville he said: "We did not come to Knoxville to make a fight on any man." The *Register* was owned by six men and they were in debt a thousand dollars each for the equipment. Their paper noticed the new arrival in a brief news item as follows: "The first number of this sheet

¹²Brownlow's *Political Register*, 339 ff.

¹³*Whig*, April 19, 1849.

¹⁴*Whig*, May 19, 1849.

Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, appeared on Wednesday evening last. It is some larger than the Jonesboro *Whig*, and its typography appears very well. We had intended, upon the perusal of its columns, to reply to some of the things which they contain, but after more reflection, have concluded not to do so, as *everybody knows Brownlow*."¹⁵

No doubt the owners of the *Register* knew Brownlow too well to believe that he would not make a fight on them. If they had any doubt, it was removed by the second issue of *The Whig* which contained three editorials. The first was a review of market conditions in which the newspapers along with other commodities were touched upon by this statement: "Newspapers: there are plenty in the market, and with the exception of our *Whig*, no sale." A second editorial on "Our city list" stated: "We have the longest list of any paper ever printed here . . . because the people demand a free and independent paper. The fact can not be disguised that papers published here in the past, especially *Whig*, have been the most miserable, time-serving, fence-riding, sheets issued anywhere in the Southwest. They have been the contemptible echoes of cliques, cabals, and office seekers, conducted by a sort of *scrub-aristocracy*, whose insulting consciousness of superiority could be seen at every street corner." The third editorial was on the *Register's* attitude toward the railroad projects then being developed. Brownlow said that the *Register's* praise was half hearted and calculated to throw cold water on the undertakings. He advised: "Take firm ground—take a more dignified stand—don't rely upon the name and age of your paper. . . . These admonitions, gentlemen, proceed from no desire on our part to induce you to notice us: for 'we hold these truths to be self-evident,' that is to say, 'everybody knows Brownlow' and a notice of him by the 'joint stock' concern over the way would not extend his acquaintance."¹⁶

The *Register* paid no attention to the second issue of the *Whig*. In number three Brownlow had a long editorial on the "Joint Stock" journal, repeating that the people wanted an independent paper. Again the *Register* was silent. In the fourth issue of the *Whig*, the one-sided fight had been moved to the front

¹⁵Knoxville *Register*, May 30, 1849.

¹⁶*Whig*, May 26, 1849.

page where a lead article said: "The people want freedom—freedom from a *bought up printing press*, the foulest abomination that ever blackened the creation of God!" The *Register* was unmoved. In number five of the *Whig* there was a calm discussion of "Knoxville, its business advantages, etc." From Brownlow's point of view the advantages were not very great, especially for the *Register*. He urged business men to give their advertisements to the *Register*, because the six owners were in debt and "we want to fight a strong foe."

This brazen article got what Brownlow wanted, a response from the *Register*. That journal answered briefly: "We have been requested by several of our best citizens to notice and to correct certain gross misrepresentations in the last number of *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, which seem maliciously intended not only to injure seriously the business, but to asperse the reputation of our city; we however deem it entirely unnecessary, as everybody knows Brownlow." Brownlow rose to his best or perhaps his worst, in his sixth issue and wrote: "'Let the Galled Jade wince.' The *Croaking overseer* of the 'Joint Stock' Company of this city, lets off a portion of his spleen in the . . . [above] extract which appeared during our absence. Words are too feeble to express the sublime views we entertain of a notice of this kind, and of the infinitely respectable source it is from. For let the real author be who he may, the public have the imposing name of John Miller McKee, as its reputed father—a name, at the mention of which, the deliterious consequences of vice are portrayed in most vivid color—the beauties and rewards of virtue are exhibited in all their captivating loveliness, and which leads the mind through the most delightful avenues to the bowers of peace and happiness! Aye, the foregoing paragraph is from the pen of a writer, who, in days gone by, through literary journals, has called to his aid all the eloquence of truth. Clothed in the most fascinating forms—such as moral essays, simple or pathetic tales, varying from grave to gay, from lively to serene:—poetical sketches—didactic articles in verse; and sometimes to enliven his articles, a tale of fancy—a humorous story—an allegory—a ballad—or, a song, has been thrown before the world—in every case, copied from the original, *verbatim et literatum et punctuatum et spellatum!* Does the distinguished literary gentleman call for a few samples."

The fight started by Brownlow went on almost uninterruptedly from June, 1849 until January, 1855, when the *Register* was sold under the hammer.¹⁷

When the *Register* failed in 1855, Brownlow wrote: "On the 9th inst., McKee is expected here, for his family, who are to join him in doing for the city what the Devil has never yet done, that is, quit the place. On that day likewise his house and lot are to be sold under the hammer, and like his office is to 'go the way of all the earth.' " He continued: "We propose a *public dinner*, in honor of his *distinguished* service. We will take our piano and open the exercises, with the National Air, 'The Rogue's March' [and] when the table is surrounded we propose to drink in silence, the following patriotic sentiment—'When rogues fall out, honest men may expect their just rights.' "

The fight was over. Brownlow had made good the boast: "My paper will live and yours will die," and he had gloated over the victim of his accomplishment.

Brownlow was not, however, just a fighter; he was also a politician. In politics he was "an unchanged and an unchangeable Whig,"¹⁸ as he expressed it, but in fact he belonged in turn to the National Republican party, the Whig party, the Know-Nothing party, the Constitutional Union party, and finally to the Republican party. He took advantage of every opportunity to run for office, for Congressman, for alderman, for governor, for presidential elector, again for governor, and for United States Senator. He was elected alderman and governor and United States Senator.

His most notable campaign was that against Andrew Johnson in 1845 for Congress. Johnson beat him thirteen hundred votes. What Brownlow thought of the outcome we can only guess, because in the file of the paper that he retained, the first few issues after the election are so mutilated that no information can be gained. Some of the numbers are missing entirely.¹⁹ As a political editor he kept Henry Clay's name at the head of his political list almost continuously from 1839 until 1852. He refused to support Zachary Taylor because Taylor insisted on being a candidate of all the people and not of the Whig party

¹⁷*Whig*, Jan. 6, 1855.

¹⁸*Whig*, May 18, 1842.

¹⁹*Whig*, file for 1845 in the Library of Congress.

only.²⁰ When Taylor was elected Brownlow went to Washington to attend the inauguration. Here he met Taylor and liked him personally but not politically because he thought that Taylor was not partisan enough.²¹ Brownlow usually went to Washington for all inaugurals as a sort of a staff correspondent of the *Whig*. At this inauguration he was given a seat in the press gallery during the last days of Congress and was only called down once for misbehavior.²² Aside from this he was considered "quite a fellow because he was not looking for any job." But Brownlow was looking for a job and got one, not from Taylor but from Fillmore at the end of his administration. Brownlow's job was to spend \$50,000 on the improvement of the Tennessee River between Knoxville and Chattanooga. Before he did any improving or drew any pay, Pierce, the new President, appointed four Democratic commissioners and an engineer to act with Brownlow. Six or seven years later he wrote: "None of us ever received any pay and all because our name was among the list."²³

Brownlow was not only a fighter and politician; he was professionally religious. To Brownlow, religion was not only an end in itself or a means of salvation, but a means to political ends, a means whereby he might criticize other people and institutions. His first book was a criticism of the Presbyterian church and an attempt to prove that Presbyterian leaders were endeavoring to unite church and state.²⁴ Yet in practically every local election Brownlow would advocate some candidate because he was a Methodist and oppose another because he was a Presbyterian.²⁵ In his prolonged dispute with F. A. Ross, a Presbyterian, his main effort was to prove that Ross was part Negro and then to prove that "we are ruled by Presbyterians." His dispute with J. R. Graves, a Baptist, even more prolonged than the one with Ross, was first a personal affair in which Brownlow argued ably against the man, and showed that the Baptist denomination was not directly descendant from John the Baptist. Then he reduced the whole to absurdity by describing how fe-

²⁰*Whig*, Jan. 19, 1848.

²¹*Whig*, first and second weeks of March, 1849.

²²*Whig*, March, 1849.

²³*Tri-Weekly Whig*, June 2, 1859.

²⁴Brownlow, *Study of Presbyterianism*, *passim*.

²⁵*Jonesboro Monthly Review*, 44.

males looked after having been baptized in a mill pond in Jonesboro.²⁶

If Brownlow felt it necessary to speak on Know-Nothingism he would call his speech a sermon and advertise for several weeks that on a certain Sunday he would deliver a sermon on Know-Nothingism. The place frequently was Temperance Hall in Knoxville. His bringing politics into the church or taking the church into politics seems to have embarrassed him only once. That was when Andrew Johnson came to Knoxville during the state political campaign of 1855 and proved to a large audience gathered on a street corner that Brownlow opposed not only the Catholic church but the Presbyterian and Baptist, in fact all except the Methodist, and that if the people of Tennessee voted with Brownlow and Know-Nothingism in this campaign, against Catholics, it would be only a matter of time until Brownlow would promote such a campaign against other churches, and would ultimately make Methodism the state religion. Brownlow heard Johnson's speech and remarked: "He misrepresented us and used our books in a way that we never intended them, but he is the strongest man the Democrats have."²⁷

Though Brownlow was a minister from early manhood to his death he frequently wrote about things Christian in such a way that one feels that he was downright disrespectful toward the religion he proposed to advocate. For instance, when Governor Johnson issued his Thanksgiving proclamation in 1855, Brownlow published a prayer to be used by all ministers and congregations on Thanksgiving day. Brownlow insisted that he was perfectly sincere and wrote: ". . . . O most merciful God, who art of more purer [*sic*] eyes than to behold iniquity, turn not a deaf ear to our supplications on this day, because the day has been set apart by a Governor who really does not subscribe to the Christian religion; does not attend Divine service; who swears profanely; and has insulted heaven and outraged the feelings of pious Christians by teaching the blasphemous sentiment that Christianity is of no higher or holier origin than his Democracy! . . . And do thou, O God of pity, show all such, that instead of ascending to Heaven on an imaginary 'Ladder,' they

²⁶Brownlow, *The Great Iron Wheel Examined*, 214-15.

²⁷*Whig*, May 9, 1857.

are chained fast to the locomotive of Hell, with the Devil for their chief engineer, the Pope of Rome as conductor, and an ungodly Governor as brakeman; and that, at more than railroad speed, they are driven on to where they are to be eternally punished by Him who [*sic*] thou hast appointed Judge of the quick and dead. Amen!"²⁸

Brownlow had other personal characteristics almost as interesting, though they did not occupy such a great place in his life. He desired publicity and would praise any member of Congress who would denounce the *Whig* because such denunciation meant new subscribers. He was so careless with his personal income and about signing security notes that in spite of a gross income that varied from two thousand to thirty thousand dollars annually, he was almost always broke and frequently in debt.²⁹ Also, he was a Son of Temperance and would advocate through his newspaper and from the platform the cause of temperance. Especially was this the case between political campaigns. While a column or two of the front page might be taken up with news about the Sons of Temperance and the great cause, another column on the front page at least once contained a highly recommended receipt for making wine, with the notation that though the wine was good enough to make any man smack his lips it could be greatly improved by adding a small bit of pure French brandy.³⁰

But in spite of Brownlow's many peculiar characteristics, his strong likes and dislikes, his habit and ability to overstate almost everything which he wrote about, he had many warm friends and admirers. Among these admirers were many of the best people living not only in Knoxville and eastern Tennessee but throughout the entire section of the southern Appalachians. And among his admirers were members of the clergy, state and national office holders, and leading citizens of various walks of life. Though Brownlow would turn from them and criticize them severely if he disagreed with anything they did, he would first and last leave a way open for reconciliation if they should desire it.

At home he seems to have been nearly a perfect father and husband. According to the only one of his children who is now

²⁸*Whig*, Dec. 1, 1855.

²⁹*Whig*, May 19, 1849 and *passim*.

³⁰*Whig*.

living he would never even raise his voice above a conversational tone. He would not scold or even correct his children; that was left to the mother. He would often say to her: "Don't worry, don't correct them, they will outgrow it." As a neighbor he was loyal and lovable. Yet away from his own door step he was so bitter, so severe, and so merciless in his criticism that most people thought him a real devil on earth!³¹

His personal characteristics reveal the man but to know him fully as an editor we must know something of what he said about leading issues of his day.

Brownlow advocated internal improvements. He urged that the navigation of the Tennessee River be improved and at one time he was commissioner to carry out such a project.³² He advocated the construction of a telegraph line between Knoxville and Dalton, Georgia, and proposed that the city of Knoxville sell two thousand dollars worth of bonds for this purpose.³³ He was a great advocate of railroads. He not only wrote long editorials and articles about them but became an agent of the proposed Southern Pacific. He bought and sold stock, at one time writing that he had in his possession fifty thousand dollars worth of this stock. Brownlow urged the people of East Tennessee to buy this stock, saying that "No swindle was contemplated." This of course was true, but the project was a failure.³⁴

Throughout his newspaper career, Brownlow was a Whig party man. When the Whig party broke up he went into the Know-Nothing and later into the Constitutional Union party, but in all these changes he continued to advocate what he called the principles of Clay, Webster, Hamilton, and Washington. He rejoiced when a party man was elected and when a Democrat was defeated, regardless of the qualifications of the man himself. When Peter Cartwright was defeated for a place in Congress from Illinois by Abraham Lincoln, Brownlow wrote in exultation: "Our old Locofoco brother *Parson* Peter Cartwright, was defeated by a Whig, for Congress in Illinois by *fifteen hundred votes*."³⁵

³¹Conversation with Mrs. Mary B. Aiken, Jan. 5, 1931.

³²*Whig*, April 16, 1853.

³³*Whig*, Nov. 25, 1854.

³⁴*Whig*, Jan. 9, 1858 and May 15, 1858.

³⁵*Whig*, Sept. 16, 1846.

When John Tyler became president and vetoed two bank bills that were advocated by the Whig party, Brownlow wrote the President an open letter in which he said: "And this abominable treachery is only equaled by your hypocrisy in proclaiming a National Fast, for the purpose of working the public mind up into a religious mood that they might bear that astounding and atrocious act of perfidy which you intended to commit. . . . Oh! has Heaven no secret hidden thunderbolt red with uncommon wrath, for such a vile traitor? Little did I think, when introduced to you last March, and while boarding with you for weeks together, in Brown's Hotel, that I was in the society of such a cut-throat! . . . You have said you will not obey—will you resign? . . . do, for the sake of the credit of your posterity, resign your seat, and let the party which you have so shamefully betrayed fill it with a man on whom they can rely. Yours Mr. Tyler, in all the noble enthusiasm of Bank Whiggery."^{35½}

When the Mexican War began Brownlow could not oppose it outright though he hated the President who, he believed, was responsible for it. Early in the war President Polk appointed, at the request of General Taylor, two Catholic priests as army chaplains. Brownlow seized upon this and wrote editorials and made speeches in condemnation of Polk, the Catholic church, the two chaplains, the army, and in fact the whole war. He had a set speech of four hours in length which he delivered at every opportunity, especially at camp meetings and at recruiting meetings. At the latter Brownlow would urge all to enlist, but he declared that the Democrats should go first because the Democrats had brought on the war. "It is our country right or wrong so go, go blindly," he stated, and then added the advice that volunteers should request that no Catholic be appointed as their chaplain.³⁶

Brownlow joined a company of volunteers in Washington county and was elected lieutenant. His influence is evident in the name adopted by this company: "The Protestant Invincibles." It was never called for service and it is not recorded that it ever reached the point of offering its services to the governor of the state,³⁷ though its members did listen to a great number of speeches from Lieutenant Brownlow.

^{35a}*Whig*, Sept. 15, 1841.

³⁶*Whig*, July 15, 1846.

³⁷*Whig*, June 17, 1846 and *passim*.

In November, 1850, Brownlow established a temperance department in his paper. Shortly afterwards he joined the Sons of Temperance. He went back to Jonesboro to join because that had been his home and he liked Jonesboro. Some letter writer in Knoxville said that he went to Jonesboro because he would have been black-balled in the Knoxville chapter. After he became a member he purchased a uniform and frequently wrote editorials and made speeches about the order. He explained that every frill and fancy on each uniform had a special and an important significance. Brownlow sometimes forgot the cause of temperance during a political campaign, but in the issue of his paper after the votes had been counted, especially if the Whigs had lost, his whole attention was again turned to temperance.³⁸

In 1854, when Know-Nothingism was spreading over the country, Brownlow prayed that "the silent scourge would reach every town and hamlet until our country is saved from the foreign influence and demagoguery" of Democracy. In his editorials and speeches he attempted to prove that Washington, Jefferson, Webster, Jackson, and Clay had all been Know-Nothings, and wrote: "We believe it to be the most powerful, and effectually organized party in the known world. . . . We are honest in our avowal when we say . . . that the hand of God, as we sincerely believe, is visible in this thing."³⁹

When slavery came to be the all-absorbing issue before the country, Brownlow claimed that he had written in 1832 that slavery, not the tariff, would divide the Union. When the Union was about to be divided Brownlow championed the institution of slavery though he was not a slave owner. He agreed with the stand taken by the Southern Methodist Church on the question and always attended the Holston Conference to prevent anything being done against the interest of slavery.⁴⁰

His main effort on behalf of slavery was his five day debate with Rev. Abram Pryne in Philadelphia. Brownlow argued that slavery was sanctioned by the Church and by the Bible and that since it had always existed it would continue to exist. After the debate he wrote several long letters to Pryne in which he restated his arguments for slavery and in addition called

³⁸*Whig*, Dec. 16, 1854.

³⁹*Whig*, Oct. 7, 1854.

⁴⁰*Whig*, Oct. 31, 1857.

Pryne every bad name and applied to him every epithet in the catalogue of abuse. In one letter he wrote: "You are more guilty than John Brown. I hope you will be brought to Virginia and hanged with me 'officiating to your agonized soul.'"⁴¹

On the question of secession, Brownlow was more bitter than on any other. About the Southern Convention which was held in Nashville in 1850, he said: "My contempt for the Abolitionists of the North is only equaled by my hatred of the Disunionist of the South. Had I the destiny of these two extremes in my hands, I would stamp upon them a mark more deep and infamous than that which followed *Cain* to his grave; I would hang them so high that Divine clemency alone could reach them;—I would bury them so deep that the shrill trump of the resurrection's morn would never awake them! And could I control the funeral services of the vile traitors who held that infamous *Hartford* Convention, at the capitol of this gallant state, I would deny them a tear to mark the graves where they lie—I would refuse them tombstones to tell the passer-by that such traitors ever lived, or were, by earthly ties, bound to humanity."⁴²

In 1858 he wrote: "Why, the *party* leaders, and *party* aspirants, and party demagogues of Democracy, would sink this Union to Hell, if they could rise upon its ruins. They would consummate a trade with the Devil any day, to blast the Union if they could get office and money."⁴³ Two years later he declared: "If every Southern state goes out and if all border states go out—if every subscriber quits we will still be for the Union."⁴⁴ And when the South Carolina convention at Charleston adopted an ordinance of secession Brownlow wrote: "Charleston has started war—Hurrah for the general government. We are and always will be for the general government."⁴⁵ When secession sentiment became strong in parts of Tennessee, he threatened that East Tennessee would leave the middle and western parts of the state and set up a separate government. He wrote of the legislative act which took the state out of the Union: "The most infamous, outrageous, high-handed, legislation ever known to a civilized world . . . never was a state

⁴¹*Whig*, Oct. 29, 1859.

⁴²*Whig*, July, 1851.

⁴³*Whig*, May 22, 1858.

⁴⁴*Whig*, Dec. 15, 1860.

⁴⁵*Whig*, Jan. 5, 1861.

more fairly placed upon the road to ruin and bankruptcy.”⁴⁶

As early as 1856 Brownlow cautioned the people to watch the Republican party. He said: “Many think the Black Republican party was crushed by the election of James Buchanan—but we are not among the number—though no one can hate the party more.”⁴⁷ Early in the campaign of 1860 a correspondent asked: “Brownlow: where would you stand between a Black Republican nominee and a Democratic nominee?” He answered: “We will fight both—we cannot countenance a Black Republican ticket nor a Democratic ticket—We believe the Union party will put out a good man and we will support him.”⁴⁸ When Lincoln was elected president, Brownlow commented: “The unbelievable has happened! The Democrats are the cause of it all.” Then he continued with an able article on the front page in which he said that Lincoln was a patriot and should be given a chance.

After the preparations for war were well under way Brownlow continued to fly the American flag over his home, to the annoyance of many people who had cast their lot with the South. He claimed that his home was threatened almost continually because of this and finally wrote a long editorial in which he repeated what he had said several times, that if the people of the state voted to leave the Union he would come down and bring his flag with him, but in the meantime he had “a perfect right to fling it to the breeze.” After explaining that he might be counted on to conform, he let go a notable passage at some imaginary scoundrel who might continue to threaten his flag: “If these God-forsaken scoundrels and Hell-deserving assassins want satisfaction out of me, for what I have said about them—and it has been no little—they can find me on the streets of this city every day of my life, but Sunday. I am at all times prepared to give them satisfaction. I take back nothing I have ever said against the corrupt and unprincipled villains, but reiterate all, cast it in their dastardly faces, and hurl down their lying throats, their own infamous calumnies.”⁴⁹ Shortly afterward he headed for the mountains looking for a hiding place “where he could not be found by the Devil himself.”

⁴⁶*Whig*, May 18, 1861.

⁴⁷*Whig*, Nov. 22, 1856.

⁴⁸*Whig*, March 3, 1860.

⁴⁹*Whig*, May 25, 1861.

In commenting on the war to come he said the South would win the first few battles "but the North is bound to win because of the difference in man power—industry—money—habits of life and because the North would encounter no danger at home." He continued by saying "the South could not win because God was not on the side of the South." He had "studied the character of God for twenty years past and found no indications of him being on the side of the South. The South, especially Virginia, was like a hill of potatoes, the best part under ground."⁵⁰

The influence of a newspaper being intangible, it is difficult to estimate the influence exerted by Brownlow through *The Whig*. In 1860 he was publishing about 10,000 copies of the weekly edition. In addition he published a tri-weekly which circulated almost as widely as the weekly. Brownlow's readers were scattered throughout the United States, with a majority residing in the region of the southern Appalachians.

The *Whig* doubtless exerted some influence in this region, but in many cases it must have been read more for amusement than for information and guidance. It "lifted the hide off so many politicians, ministers, and common citizens," agitated so many personal quarrels, exposed so many unimportant people who had been caught in embarrassments, and carried so many articles regarding questionable conduct of individuals, that, though it was entertaining, it was a bit nauseating.

⁵⁰*Whig*, May 18, 1861.

THE BUILDING OF THE EAST TENNESSEE AND VIRGINIA RAILROAD*

By JAMES W. HOLLAND

The year after the beginning of operation of the South Carolina Railroad, the first of any considerable length in the United States, found certain progressive citizens of upper East Tennessee advocating the construction of a railroad through their mountain-bound counties. The impetus for this early railroad movement seems to have come from Virginia where enterprising citizens of that state were advocating the building of a railroad from Lynchburg to the Tennessee line. During the summer of 1831 public meetings at Rogersville, Jonesboro, Blountville, Knoxville, and Athens endorsed the idea of a railroad from Knoxville to the Virginia line. By some far-sighted persons, such as Solomon D. Jacobs, such a road was envisioned as a link in a line of railroads that would extend from the East to the Mississippi River. Citizens of Rogersville were particularly active and as a result of a decision of a meeting in June there was issued from the press in that town on July 4, 1831, the first issue of a bi-weekly newspaper, the *Railroad Advocate*.¹

At a public meeting at Abingdon, Virginia, August 25-29, 1831, delegates from several counties in southwest Virginia and upper East Tennessee memorialized the legislatures of Virginia and Tennessee to grant charters for railroads within their respective limits that would form a connection between Lynchburg and Knoxville.² In December Tennessee's legislature chartered a road to run from Knoxville to the Virginia

*This paper was read at a meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society at Knoxville. It is based upon Mr. Holland's Masters thesis, "A History of Railroad Enterprise in East Tennessee, 1836-1860" (Univ. of Tenn., 1930) [Ed.]

¹*Railroad Advocate*, July 4, July 19, Aug. 2, Aug. 20, 1831. Mr. S. J. Folmsbee, of the Department of History of the University of Tennessee, is making a study of state aid to internal improvements in Tennessee and informs me that a file of this paper is in the library of the Bureau of Railway Economics, Washington, D. C. He has kindly permitted me to use his notes from this paper. See also *Knoxville Register*, July 13, July 23, Aug. 3, 1831.

²*Knoxville Register*, Sept. 7, Sept. 14, Oct. 13, 1831.

line, but made no provision for giving to it financial aid as some of its advocates had desired. Virginia's legislature chartered the Lynchburg and New River Railroad; the company was organized and some stock subscribed; but when the legislature refused to subscribe to two-fifths of the stock the stockholders, on May 25, 1832, decided to abandon the enterprise. On June 14 the *Railroad Advocate* of Rogersville made its last appearance.³

A road from Knoxville to the Virginia line would be of little value to Tennesseans unless it should connect with a road that would give access to Eastern markets. The idea of such a road was dropped and attention was given to the possibility of the securing of an outlet in another direction. Instead of with the East, a connection was to be made with the South Atlantic seaboard by an extension of the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad.⁴ From this idea developed the daringly brilliant Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project which held sway in the minds of the western railroad enthusiasts until the dissolution of the company in 1840.⁵

Meanwhile, McMinn County had been actively engaged in railroad planning and construction. A charter had been obtained for a railroad, called the Hiwassee, to be built from Knoxville to the Georgia line, there connecting with a Georgia-built railroad to Atlanta, and from there to the Atlantic. The company had been organized and considerable work done when the panic of 1837 temporarily suspended operations.⁶

New Years Day, 1847, saw the reorganization of the Hiwassee Company, and fresh resolutions on the part of its officers to construct the railroad.⁷ Roads from Nashville to Chattanooga and from Memphis to Chattanooga were also being planned. Virginians, too, were contemplating again the construction of a railroad to the Tennessee line at Bristol. Thus there would be wanting only a line of railroad from Knoxville to Bristol in a series of roads from the Southwest to the East.

³*Knoxville Register*, Oct. 19, Dec. 7, 1831, May 16, 1832; *Railroad Advocate*, Jan. 12, Apr. 19, June 14, 1832; *Private Acts of Tennessee*, 1831, p. 157.

⁴*Knoxville Register*, Aug. 1, 1832.

⁵U. B. Phillips, *History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt* (New York, 1908), and T. J. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times* (New York, 1909).

⁶J. W. Holland, "The East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad," *East Tennessee Historical Society, Publications*, No. 3 (1931), 89-107.

⁷"Memorial of the Hiwassee Railroad Company," *Senate Journal Appendix*, 1847-48, p. 107. All references to journals and acts are to those of Tennessee.

It was to the building of such a railroad that the upper East Tennesseans now seriously applied themselves. Rogersville, Tennessee, was the scene of the first convention in the interest of the project. At this meeting, held in May, 1847, a resolution was passed inviting all of the counties of East Tennessee to send delegates to a convention to be held at Greeneville on July 5 of the same year. Following a precedent set by the promoters of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston, the president of the convention appointed a committee of correspondence whose duty it was to write letters of invitation to citizens of the various counties.⁸

Another preliminary convention was held, June 12, at Jonesboro. At this time there was appointed a committee to collect commercial statistics and to report the findings to another convention to be held at the same place about two weeks later. At the second Jonesboro convention delegates were appointed to attend the convention at Greeneville, and a resolution was adopted to the effect that "this meeting adopt the plan of a railroad as of all others best suited to our section of the state."⁹

The convention which met at Greeneville comprised delegates from ten counties in East Tennessee and three counties in Virginia.¹⁰ In this convention, two factions fought for supremacy. One of these, the conservative, advocated river improvements, especially of the Holston and French Broad; the other, the progressive element, held that nothing short of a railroad could meet the transportation needs of upper East Tennessee and western Virginia. Three days of discussion followed, but no decision was reached. Then a compromise resolution was adopted. This contained a recommendation to the legislature of an appropriation of \$250,000 to be expended in the improvement of the Holston River from Knoxville to Kingsport, and of the French Broad to the mouth of the Nolichucky. Also, the resolutions asked that Tennessee and Virginia should give "cordial and favorable consideration" to the building of a railroad from Knoxville to Charlottesville, Virginia, or that Tennessee alone should build a McAdam road "graded suitably for a

⁸*First Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the East Tennessee and Virginia Rail Road Company* (Jonesboro, 1850), 4. Hereafter referred to as *Report*, 1850.

⁹*Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

railroad" from Knoxville "to the Virginia road now in progress, to run through East Tennessee between the Holston and Nolichucky Rivers—thus to unite Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Tennessee with Virginia and the North."¹¹ The secretary of the convention furnished a copy of these resolutions to the Tennessee legislature, and they were introduced into the Senate by Major Britain, representing the counties of Greene and Hawkins.¹²

The East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company was incorporated by the General Assembly on January 27, 1848. In the charter, the purpose of the organization of the company was stated to be the establishment of a line of railroad communication between Knoxville and the state of Virginia, through East Tennessee, east of Bay's Mountain, between the Holston and Nolichucky rivers.¹³

The capital stock of the company was set at 60,000 shares at twenty-five dollars per share, and the books of the company were to be opened for subscription on the first Monday in April, 1848. Fifty cents was to be paid on each share at the time of subscription. On the first Monday in May, the board of commissioners was to meet in Jonesboro to ascertain the total number of shares subscribed. If five hundred, or more, had been subscribed the company would be considered formed, under the control of the board of commissioners. This board was then empowered to survey the route, and to make estimates of cost, but could not establish a permanent location until after the election of the first board of directors.¹⁴

Before the company might be fully organized and a board of directors elected 25,000 shares of stock must have been subscribed. If this amount were not obtained on or before January 1, 1850, the charter would be annulled. The company was expressly forbidden to carry on any banking operations. The charter gave to the company the right to own as many slaves as might be necessary for the building of the road and the keeping of it in repair. No provision was made for any state subsidy for the road.¹⁵

¹¹*Report*, 1850, pp. 4-5.

¹²*Senate Journal*, 1847-48, p. 64.

¹³*Acts*, 1847-48, p. 195.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 195-8.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 198-205.

The first board of commissioners failed to open the books of the company for subscription, and the books were not opened by the second board until after the passage of an act, in February, 1849, by the Virginia legislature, binding that state to a subscription of three-fifths of the stock required in the construction of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad—the railroad which the East Tennessee and Virginia was to meet at the Tennessee-Virginia line.¹⁶

This act seems to have aroused the people of upper East Tennessee from their lethargy, and to have led them to attempt the salvation of the charter of their railroad. Legal authorities were consulted regarding the advisability of a tardy opening of the books for subscription. They were of the opinion that such an action would not render the charter invalid. Accordingly, a second board of commissioners was organized on January 3, 1849 (some eight months late under the charter) at the court house in Jonesboro. From eight to ten thousand dollars were subscribed on that day. Subscriptions were taken also in Greene, Carter, Jefferson, and Knox counties. It was extremely doubtful, however, whether the amount required by the charter could be obtained within the time limit prescribed. Therefore the commissioners waived the initial payment of fifty cents per share.¹⁷

In August of 1849, a Knoxville newspaper printed an announcement that a convention of citizens interested in the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, or in the improvement of the Holston and French Broad rivers, would meet at Greeneville on September 10.¹⁸ The Greeneville convention formally accepted the charter, subscribed \$5,000, and in an unduly optimistic moment voted to ask the state legislature to subscribe \$1,500,000 to the railroad and to appropriate \$250,000 for the improvement of the French Broad and Holston. T. A. R. Nelson, J. W. Deadrick, and S. B. Cunningham were appointed a publicity committee whose duty it was to advertise the project throughout the state. Each delegate pledged himself to “use all honorable and

¹⁶*Report*, 1850, p. 5.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 5-6.

¹⁸*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Aug. 11, 1849. The announcement was signed by Samuel B. Cunningham, S. J. W. Lucky, John Blair, L. C. Hoss, A. E. Jackson, N. Gammon, and T. A. R. Nelson.

fair means'' to secure subscriptions sufficient to save the charter.¹⁹

After diligent efforts to gain the necessary amount of subscriptions, however, there were less than \$200,000 subscribed by the first of November. Furthermore, indications were not lacking in the General Assembly that if the required amount of stock were not subscribed by January 1, 1850, there would be no extension of time.²⁰ Under these very trying circumstances, someone recalled the feat of the six McMinn County railroad promoters who had saved the charter of the Hiwassee railroad by a subscription (not *bona fide*) of some \$280,000.²¹ Adopting the same plan, thirty men banded themselves together as the "Washington County Railroad Company," on October 26, 1849, and, after a compact had been signed by all of the members, one of them was appointed to subscribe for the remainder of the stock to any amount not exceeding \$500,000.²² A. E. Jackson was elected to the presidency of this joint stock company. The name of the company was afterward changed to the "East Tennessee Rail Road Company," but it was popularly known as the "East Tennessee Stock Company."²³

The General Assembly, on November 6, 1849, surprised the East Tennessee and Virginia promoters by granting an extension of time to be allowed for the subscription of \$625,000 in stock from January 1, 1850 to January 1, 1852.²⁴ By the time of the passage of this act, however, the joint stock company had been organized and had subscribed for the required amount of stock. The stockholders met at Greeneville on November 21, 1849 and elected fifteen directors who in turn elected Dr. Samuel Blair Cunningham to the presidency of the company.²⁵ With this

¹⁹*Greeneville Spy*, in *ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1849.

²⁰*Report*, 1850, p. 6.

²¹J. B. Killebrew and J. M. Safford, *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1874), 311. See Holland, *op. cit.*, 91-2.

²²*Report*, 1850, p. 8.

²³*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

²⁴*Acts*, 1849-50, p. 19.

²⁵The directors were: A. E. Jackson, Dr. Samuel Blair Cunningham, J. F. Broyles, J. S. Rhea, J. B. Hamilton, J. J. James, James A. Scruggs, William P. Reeves, J. C. Mitchell, Jacob Klepper, G. W. Telford, William K. Blair, William G. Gammon, Samuel Rhea, and John Lyle. *Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858. Dr. Cunningham, in addition to being a most energetic railroad builder, was a physician of the first order. It is said that his medical reputation extended to the European clinics. See S. R. Miller, "Pioneer Physicians of East Tennessee," in P. M. Hamer, ed., *The Centennial History of the Tennessee State Medical Association* (Nashville, 1930), 237-8.

election of directors, the company was relieved of the problem of organization, and was initiated into the vastly more perplexing problems contingent upon the construction of a railroad through a section which was, in the main, antagonistic toward such an enterprise.

The newly elected directors did not have long to wait before they encountered trouble, and the first controversy arose within the ranks of the stockholders. Certain of these objected, in no uncertain terms, to the control which the "East Tennessee Stock Company" had exercised in the election of the directors, pointing to the fact that a by-law had been adopted which exempted the company from payment of fifty cents per share at the time of subscription. When we consider the fact that all of the fifteen directors were members of the joint stock company, and furthermore, that Samuel B. Cunningham, president; E. S. Mathes, treasurer; and William G. Gammon, secretary, were also members of that company, the complaint seems reasonable.²⁶

On the other hand, however, it seems that the individual stockholders could ill-afford to complain of the joint stock company's vote upon grounds of non-payment of the initial payment on the stock, in view of the fact that neither had many of the individual stockholders paid such instalment, the payment of it having been waived. It was accordingly suggested by some of the proponents of the joint stock company that the company should not be allowed to vote until it had paid the fifty cents per share instalment, provided that the individual stockholders paid the instalment on the stock held by them. In July, at a meeting of stockholders in Greeneville to pass upon this suggestion, they "disclaimed any such right." In other words, they did not care to pay the instalment for the privilege of debarring the joint stock company from voting.²⁷ Thus the thirty men constituting the company were left in command of the destinies of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad.

One of the first acts of the board of directors was to petition the legislature to ratify the proceedings of the commissioners, which had been somewhat irregular, and to declare the charter valid.²⁸ In accordance with this request, the General Assembly

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Report*, 1850, p. 8.

²⁸*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

passed an act in which it was stated that, although there had been "defects and irregularities in the proceedings of the different boards of commissioners," the required amount of stock had been subscribed and the subscription was "declared to be a full compliance with the requirements of the charter."²⁹

Captain Lloyd Tilghman was appointed chief engineer, with instructions to get his associates and instruments and to come to Jonesboro. He and his assistants left New York on March 9, and arrived in Jonesboro on March 26. Assuming that he came to Jonesboro directly and with reasonable haste, the fact that seventeen days were required for the journey emphasizes the need for the railroad which he had come to construct, along with other railroads to be linked together to form a connection between New York and the Southwest.³⁰

Fortunately the press of East Tennessee showed a pronounced inclination to support the project. The maiden number of the *Rail Road Journal*, under the auspices of Samuel Greer and James L. Sparks, editors and proprietors, made its debut in Jonesboro on April 6, 1850. According to its weekly repeated testimony it was "Devoted to Internal Improvements, Agriculture, Education, Mechanic Arts, News, and General Intelligence—Neutral in Politics and Religion." The latter it may have been, but its neutrality did not extend to the matter of railroad construction, especially that of the East Tennessee and Virginia which was continuously referred to as "our Rail Road," as witness the following:³¹

If it was an earthquake, [a rumor was current that one had occurred in East Tennessee] it is designed to rouse up the counties below to the importance of taking stock in the East Ten. & Va. R. Road. Come gentlemen of Jefferson, Grainger, Sevier and Claiborne attend to your part of the Railroad and see that sufficient stock is taken in it to build your share, or the repetition of this warning may leave you neither room for Railroads or standing ground!

In the same issue, the following straightforward statement of editorial policy appeared: "The great object of the Journal will be to advocate the cause of the E. T. & Va. R. R. and this

²⁹*Acts*, 1849-50, pp. 491-2.

³⁰*Report*, 1850, p. 11.

³¹*Rail Road Journal* (Jonesboro), Oct. 26, 1850.

shall engage our attention until the work is under full way.”³²

The *Greeneville Spy* turned its espionage to the advantage of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad at every opportunity.³³ The redoubtable “Parson” Brownlow, too, gave his vehement blessing to that road and to the East Tennessee and Georgia (successor of the Hiwassee) and made them beneficiaries of editorial benedictions in *Brownlow’s Knoxville Whig*, the while denouncing the *Knoxville Register* as an “anti-rail-road” sheet.³⁴ Also the *Knoxville Plebeian* seems modestly to have sponsored the cause of the East Tennessee and Virginia.³⁵

From the time of Tilghman’s arrival at Jonesboro until September 1, 1850, he and his assistants made some 476 miles of experimental surveys. Thereupon the stockholders, by resolution, requested the directorate to put under contract any part of the road which they believed “compatible with the interest of the Stockholders, and within the means they may be able to collect and command, after receiving the report of the Chief Engineer, locating said road.” The directors took advantage of this manifest interest on the part of the stockholders in the immediate beginning of operations by calling for an instalment of one dollar per share to be paid in forty days.³⁶

It was planned that the work be started at or near McBee’s Ferry rather than at either of the termini. This decision was made in view of the fact that it would be necessary to wait at one terminus for the Virginia and Tennessee and at the other for the East Tennessee and Georgia, which at that time had no funds to build the road further than Blair’s Ferry (Loudon). Also the company had pledged to expend money, as far as practicable, where it was raised.³⁷

The contract for the first section of forty miles was taken by S. B. Ferguson. One-half of the contract price was to be paid in stock of the company, and the other half, in cash. Where the optimistic directors expected to get the latter is problematical.³⁸

³²*Ibid.*

³³*Greeneville Spy*, in *ibid.*, April 27, 1850; *Greeneville Spy*, Apr. 17, 1851.

³⁴*Brownlow’s Knoxville Whig*, July 21, Aug. 11, Sept. 29, 1849; May 26, 1855; April 3, 1858. Any statement by Brownlow about the *Register* must be taken advisedly.

³⁵*Knoxville Plebeian*, in *Rail Road Journal* (Jonesboro), Oct. 26, 1850.

³⁶*Report*, 1850, p. 12.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 13; *Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

³⁸*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

State aid had been refused to the East Tennessee and Virginia,³⁹ and Knoxville, the largest city on the route of the embryonic railroad was sadly remiss in support of it, moral or financial. President Cunningham and Chief Engineer Tilghman had gone to that city to enlist aid. Although their coming had been advertised well, the people of Knoxville and Knox County did not even turn out to hear the railroad officials speak, much less subscribe for any stock.⁴⁰ Grainger, a county which the railroad was not to touch, had subscribed more than Knox County through which the road would run for some fifteen miles and whose county seat was to be the more important of the termini.⁴¹

It was thought, however that if the counties through which the railroad was to pass (excepting Knox) should grade it and prepare it for the rails, state aid would be forthcoming more certainly than if the directors merely waited for a new session of the legislature without exerting themselves in their own behalf. As Cunningham said, in 1850:⁴²

Having graded the road out of our own private means, Tennessee will present a monstrous anomaly, when compared with any or all other sister States, should she persist in such a miserable novercal policy—alike humbling to State pride, and in opposition to the interests of the State, should she refuse her help.

Doubtless, had the subscribers paid their subscriptions promptly when called for, the company should have had little difficulty in effecting the above plan. However, they did not, and Cunningham complained:⁴³

The want of punctuality on the part of subscribers, is a grievous drawback which must ever be kept in view, and compel any Directory who expect to meet their engagements, to act slowly and with caution. . . . The want of punctuality may be traced to the loose manner of doing business in our country—always employing credit.

Every day, except Sunday, from October 21 to November 25, four energetic apostles of the railroad were scheduled to address

³⁹*Greeneville Spy*, in *Rail Road Journal* (Jonesboro), April 13, 1850.

⁴⁰*Rail Road Journal* (Jonesboro), Sept. 28, 1850.

⁴¹*Knoxville Plebeian*, in *ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1850.

⁴²*Report*, 1850, p. 13.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 15.

people of upper East Tennessee gathered at cross road stores and other convenient places, pointing out the advantages to be derived from the construction of the railroad and endeavoring to gain aid for the enterprise.⁴⁴

At the time of the second annual meeting of the stockholders, November 29, 1850, the "*bona fide* subscription" (that exclusive of stock held by the "East Tennessee Stock Company") amounted to only \$250,000. Of this amount, furthermore, only a very small proportion had been paid.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, on March 30, 1851, the ground was first broken "in the midst of doubting thousands," about one mile east of McBee's Ferry. The beginning of work on the East Tennessee and Virginia seems to have attracted considerable attention, but to have engendered little expectation or hope among the residents of East Tennessee of its completion. It was freely predicted by smug, conservative farmers along the proposed route that "the acorns had yet to grow the trees to make the ties."⁴⁶

Even the staunch advocates of the project realized that without state aid there was little reason to hope for success. Accordingly they began a campaign for the election of "sound, able, efficient Railroad men" to the next General Assembly.⁴⁷ A. E. Jackson and Samuel Rhea were sent by the company to the new legislature as agents to solicit the urgently needed aid. In this quest they were partially successful. On January 15, 1852, the General Assembly passed an act authorizing the governor to issue to the East Tennessee and Virginia coupon bonds to an amount not exceeding \$300,000 to be used in the construction of bridges. These bonds, when issued, were to constitute a lien, automatically and without a deed, upon all of the stock of the company. Furthermore, before \$100,000 of the bonds should be issued, it would be necessary for the directors to have put forty miles of the road under contract; the work must be progressing, and there must be bona fide subscriptions to an amount necessary to grade and put the culverts on that section. The \$200,000 remaining was to be

⁴⁴The complete schedule may be found in the *Rail Road Journal* (Jonesboro), Oct. 26, 1850. The four men were: Col. Haynes, Col. Thornburg, O. P. Temple, and Col. A. E. Jackson.

⁴⁵*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Greeneville Spy*, Apr. 17, 1851.

issued in two equal instalments, subject to like requirements.⁴⁸

By the end of 1851, three miles of the road had been graded, and \$15,000 had been collected, apparently by a process closely analogous to the extraction of teeth, from the subscribers. The stockholders had met in annual convention on November 27, 1851, and had made a considerable revision in the directorate. Cunningham, however, had been, for the third time, elected president, and Gammon had been re-elected secretary and treasurer.⁴⁹

During the following year, the General Assembly passed a general act for the aid of railroad companies to the extent of \$8,000 for each mile of road constructed. The bonds issued under this act were to mature in forty years, and the recipient companies were required to pay interest semi-annually.⁵⁰

The directors, having calculated that the financial condition of the company was such as would warrant the issuance of the first \$100,000 of state bonds for bridge construction, sent A. E. Jackson to Nashville to attempt to secure them.⁵¹ He was successful, and immediately proceeded to New York to market them.⁵² There he was eminently successful, succeeding in disposing of one-half of the bonds at a premium of eight per cent. The remaining bonds were afterward sold at the same figure. Furthermore, the citizens of Washington County, on August 14, 1852, voted a subscription of \$50,000 in the stock of the company. The financial affairs of the East Tennessee and Virginia were decidedly on the increase. Before the end of the year almost the entire road had been put under contract.⁵³

The annual meeting of the stockholders convened at Greeneville on November 25, 1852. At this meeting the board of directors was retained intact, and again Cunningham was chosen to lead the company. Gammon was re-elected secretary and treasurer. Tilghman, chief engineer, however, resigned and was replaced temporarily by Robert C. Morris who took charge of the western end of the road. In February of the following year Montgomery Lynch was appointed chief engineer. Under his

⁴⁸*Acts*, 1851-52, pp. 76-7.

⁴⁹*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

⁵⁰*Acts*, 1851-52, ch. CLI.

⁵¹*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

⁵²*Greeneville Spy*, July 5, 1852.

⁵³*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

direction the grade was reduced to a maximum of sixty-eight feet to the mile.⁵⁴

About this time the directors began to realize the desirability of having completed the grading between McBee's Ferry and Knoxville before the East Tennessee and Georgia should be completed to the latter point—its northern terminus.⁵⁵ But in the fall of 1854 a bar presented itself to this contemplated construction work in the form of what, in the legal phraseology applicable to common carriers, would be called "an act of God." This was the epidemic of cholera in Knoxville. From the first to the fourth of September there were, in the small city of Knoxville, some thirty deaths from this dread disease. Of the epidemic, the *Kingston Gazetteer* had the following to say: "Knoxville is nearly abandoned, there being scarcely help enough to lay out and bury the dead—public houses closed and Newspaper publication ceased except Extras published by W. G. Brownlow who says if he dies it will be at his post."⁵⁶ For the entire period of the epidemic, sixty-six deaths were reported in Knoxville, and more than one hundred in East Tennessee.⁵⁷ Workers on the East Tennessee and Virginia left their work, causing a virtual suspension of building operations on the road.⁵⁸

Furthermore, the increased demand for labor and consequent high wage scale, the general advance in prices, and crop failure hindered the contractors in their work at this time. Instalments on stock were "sparsely paid" during this year and, on the whole, no year since the drawing of state bonds had presented so many difficulties to the East Tennessee and Virginia. During the year two directors, James F. Broyles and Joseph Shannon, resigned and were replaced by D. Kennedy and R. H. Davis.⁵⁹

One of the many difficulties which President Cunningham encountered was the depreciation of state bonds which the law did not allow to be sold for less than par value. Thus he was confronted by a situation similar to that in which J. G. M. Ramsey had been placed in 1849.⁶⁰ Cunningham, however,

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*American Statesman* (Knoxville), July 6, 1853.

⁵⁶September 9, 1854.

⁵⁷*Kingston Gazetteer*, Sept. 30, 1854.

⁵⁸*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁰J. G. M. Ramsey, *Autobiography*, 26-8. See Holland, *op. cit.*, 101.

succeeded in contracting for iron for the remainder of the road to be paid for in state bonds at par.⁶¹ Probably this contract called for a price to be paid for the rails which would be enough in excess of the market price. Thus would the letter, if not the spirit, of the law be observed.

On July 4, 1855, at the time of the Knoxville "Jubilee" to celebrate the completion of the East Tennessee and Georgia, tracklaying was started in Knoxville on the East Tennessee and Virginia.⁶² By the end of the year 1855, the track had been laid from Knoxville to McBee's Ferry despite the fact that during the year the company met many reverses. Early in the year the work progressed satisfactorily,⁶³ but the winter was an especially severe one and consequently little construction work could be done. Prices, too, were at a high level and the outlay for equipments far exceeded \$10,000 per mile. State bonds, still under par, could not be sold. Stockholders were so delinquent in payment of instalments that it became necessary for the board to issue first mortgage bonds, after the state lien, to the amount of \$100,000 and these could be sold only at a liberal discount. The directors finally were forced to borrow money on their personal credit for use in building the railroad.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, under the indomitable leadership of Dr. Cunningham, the work went on steadily albeit slowly because of the many obstacles to be overcome. On February 23, 1856, the first trip was made on the East Tennessee and Virginia from Knoxville to New Market, a distance of twenty-four miles. According to Fleming, editor of the *Knoxville Register*, "an immense assemblage of old Jefferson's 'fair women and brave men' " were on hand to meet the train at New Market. John Netherland and Horace Maynard delivered addresses. Then, "having tarried long enough for the denizens to examine the wonderful proportions of the 'Iron horse' and to note his 'flesh-marks,' the train returned to Knoxville."⁶⁵ John Goforth about this time was made supervisor of the railroad.⁶⁶

Less than five months later the cars were running to Russellville, a distance of about fifty miles from Knoxville. A celebra-

⁶¹*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

⁶²*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, May 26, 1855.

⁶³*Loudon Free Press*, Feb. 14, 1855.

⁶⁴*Knoxville Register*, May 27, 1858.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1856.

⁶⁶*Greeneville Democrat*, June 22, 1859.

tion was held at Russellville at which "the people were counted by the acre."⁶⁷ It was planned that the tracklaying should, for some time, end at this town, as a considerable amount of grading remained to be done above that point. When the Virginia and Tennessee should be completed to the state line, tracklaying would begin there and proceed toward Russellville.⁶⁸ Thus the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad could be used to transport rails from the East.⁶⁹

During the fall of 1856, the Virginia and Tennessee was built to Bristol.⁷⁰ The East Tennessee and Georgia had been completed to Knoxville in June of the preceding year.⁷¹ This placed the East Tennessee and Virginia in a peculiar, and a very unpleasant, position. It was the only uncompleted link in a great combination of railroads designed to be a highway joining the Northeast and the Southwest. Naturally the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, under such circumstances, was the butt of many unpleasant remarks; the more rapid construction of the road was urged on every hand; and, all in all, the company had a most miserable time from the fall of 1856 until the time of its completion.⁷²

Very early in 1857, there remained a gap of some seventy miles in the road. It was expected that by fall the line would be extended to Jonesboro.⁷³

The panic of 1857 added to the never-ending succession of obstacles to the success of the railroad. The "hard times" were reflected in changes in the personnel of the company. In May, Montgomery Lynch, chief engineer, resigned. William G. Gammon relinquished the office of secretary and treasurer which he had held since the organization of the company. A. E. Jackson and Joseph Henderson resigned from the directorate. Lynch was succeeded by C. A. Mee and J. A. Aiken; Gammon, by John Keys;⁷⁴ Jackson by E. Davis. A. A. Broyles was elected to replace Henderson, but he refused to shoulder the tempestuous duties of a director, and there remained a vacancy in the board

⁶⁷*Knoxville Register*, Aug. 7, 1856.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, July 17, 1856.

⁶⁹*Lynchburg Virginian*, in *ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1856.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹*Knoxville Register*, June 28, 1855.

⁷²*Lynchburg Virginian*, in *ibid.*, Sept. 11, Sept. 25, 1856; *Daily Gazette* (Nashville), in *ibid.*, Apr. 30, 1857.

⁷³*Knoxville Register*, Feb. 12, 1857.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, May 21, 1857.

until the next meeting of the stockholders. William Brazleton was appointed superintendent of the lower end of the road.⁷⁵

At a special meeting of the stockholders, in the latter part of the year, the board was authorized to issue \$300,000 in second mortgage bonds. These were to be used as collateral security in the raising of \$100,000 to aid in the completion of the grading.⁷⁶

The work progressed steadily, though slowly, and by June, 1857, there were seventy-eight miles in operation. On the north-eastern end of the line trains were running from Bristol to a station on the west side of the Watauga River, twenty miles away. At the other end, they were running from Knoxville to Bull's Gap, a distance of fifty-eight miles.⁷⁷

Although the East Tennessee and Virginia was used chiefly for local traffic, it was possible at this time to make a through trip from Knoxville to Bristol using the railroads to its full extent. This was accomplished by transferring the passengers to a stage at Bull's Gap, and driving this along the right-of-way of the railroad to the point on the Watauga where the track started again, at which point the passengers again boarded the train. The last portion of the road to be completed was the Bull's Gap section, and so was a part of the staging until the completion of the railroad. Of this section, John McGaughey later said: ". . . and perhaps the traveler who was compelled to encounter the mud holes, in going from one point to the other will never forget Bull's Gap."⁷⁸

Due to this unfortunate feature the hybrid railroad-stage coach line lost many through passengers. Travelers from New Orleans and the Southwest, wishing to avoid the staging, went by rail to Vicksburg, and from there by steamer to Memphis, taking the railroad from that point to New York, via Louisville and Cincinnati.⁷⁹

The original estimate of the cost of the entire railroad was \$835,853. With this in mind, it is interesting to review the cost of the railroad until 1857. The whole cost of the road and equipment had been \$2,153,748.47; of which \$1,054,390.25 had been

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, May 27, 1858.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, June 11, 1857.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, May 27, 1858.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, May 6, 1858.

expended for iron and equipment, and \$1,099,358.22 for the grading of the roadway.⁸⁰

On November 26, 1857, the stockholders met at Blountville and re-elected the former board, adding John White to fill the vacancy caused by the non-acceptance of A. A. Broyles. Cunningham was "triumphantly re-elected" to the presidency, despite a secret attempt which had been made to oust him.⁸¹ Brazleton resigned as superintendent and Joseph Sevier who, until that time had been a conductor on the road, was appointed in his stead. C. A. Mee was elected chief engineer.⁸²

Throughout the winter, in mud and water, every effort was made to lay track at the eastern end of the gap in the line, and to continue the grading of all ungraded points between Bull's Gap and Greeneville.⁸³ On March 20, 1858, the trains began to run to Greeneville, and it was expected that the road would be completed by May of that year.⁸⁴ At this time the eighteen mile gap in the East Tennessee and Virginia was the only break in railroad connections between Memphis and New York.⁸⁵

Shortly before the track had reached Greeneville, the citizens of that town held a meeting and determined to inaugurate the completion of the railroad with a "Grand Railroad Celebration." They invited "all who are desirous of mingling with us, in the contemplated Celebration, not only in the adjoining counties, but in adjacent States, from one end of the great line to the other."⁸⁶

While preparations for the celebration were in progress, the track crept steadily toward the center of the gap. On midnight of May 6 the last shovel full of dirt was thrown to complete the grading.⁸⁷ On May 14, 1858, two and one-half miles west of Blue Springs, the last spike was driven by President Cunningham.⁸⁸ Excursion trains left Knoxville and Bristol and passengers were carried at half fare to the scene. Apparently this event was considered something of a social affair. Fleming

⁸⁰*Senate Journal Appendix*, 1857-58, p. 63.

⁸¹*Abingdon Virginian*, in *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 19, 1857.

⁸²*Knoxville Register*, Dec. 10, 1857; May 27, 1858.

⁸³*Ibid.*, May 27, 1858.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, Mar. 18, 1858.

⁸⁵*Chattanooga Advertiser*, Mar. 18, 1858.

⁸⁶*Knoxville Register*, Mar. 18, 1858.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, May 27, 1858.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*; *Sunday Times (Chattanooga)*, May 31, 1896.

facetiously remarked: "Of course it will be expected (though we have received no information to that effect) that every young man will be charged *double* fare unless he take a lady with him, or makes an honest effort to do so."⁸⁹

The last rail was laid with impressive ceremony, after which there was an address by John McGaughey. This address is interesting, quite apart from any connection with the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, for its bombastic phraseology and its confusing number and variety of historical allusions. The following passage from this classic of the mixed metaphor is typical of the whole: "... and you, Mr. President, Company, Directors, Engineers and Contractors must feel that the Rubicon which took longer than the siege of Troy, is crossed. And our fellow citizens in upper East Tennessee after a bondage of 88 years, since the germ of a civil community was first planted upon the banks of the beautiful Watauga, have comparatively, speaking, crossed the Jordan to till the land, that can now be made to flow with milk and honey."⁹⁰

The Greeneville Convention, held on June 3, 1858, unlike the Knoxville celebration in 1855 staged in honor of the completion of the East Tennessee and Georgia, seems to have been an unqualified success.⁹¹ And so, while the deservedly happy president and his aides are imbibing lemonade and listening to the "Knoxville Military Brass Band" and to extravagant speeches in their honor, we conclude our study of them and of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, their handiwork.

This one hundred and thirty mile railroad was built under more adverse conditions than was any other early railroad in East Tennessee, and possibly under as unfavorable financial conditions as were encountered by any railroad which was ultimately constructed. Friends of the road were told that "the acorns had yet to grow the trees to make the ties," and yet seven years and forty-five days after the breaking of the ground the last rail was laid. These seven years were filled with discouragements, difficulties and near-disasters, which ever threatened to bring the project to an abrupt and premature end. It was largely due to the perseverance and never-failing energy of Dr. Cunningham that the company was guided safely through these

⁸⁹*Knoxville Register*, May 13, 1858.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, May 27, 1858.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, June 10, 1858. See Holland, *op. cit.*, 104-5.

trying times. Certainly the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia may be counted a triumph, and one well deserved, over countless difficulties which seemed at the time insuperable and which seem, even in retrospect, to have been formidable indeed.

The completed East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad was a complement of the East Tennessee and Georgia and increased greatly the traffic and general usefulness of the latter. These two railroads formed indispensable links in a chain of railroads which constituted a direct air-line from Washington to Chattanooga, connecting at the latter city with railroads to Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis and Mobile; which railroads, in turn, connected at Atlanta with lines to Pensacola, Augusta, Charleston, Montgomery and Savannah; and at Memphis, with lines to Vicksburg and New Orleans.⁹² Accordingly the East Tennessee and Virginia was hailed by Union-loving East Tennesseans as the savior of the Union. The following appeared in a Knoxville newspaper: "The completion of this route is not merely the union of Knoxville with Bristol, but the binding together of the North and the South with a bond indissoluble."⁹³ That the railroad did not have this effect is, of course, universally known. The extreme strategic importance of the line of railroad formed by this road and the East Tennessee and Georgia during the struggle that followed, however, is not so generally recognized. But that is another story.

⁹²W. E. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict* (New York, 1915), 191. A map, based on Lloyd's map of 1860, of railroads in operation that year.

⁹³*Knoxville Register*, May 20, 1858.

TENNESSEE'S INVITATION TO CARPET-BAGGERS*

By W. B. HESSELTINE

The emphasis which has been placed upon the political history of the reconstruction of the South has tended to elevate the political "Carpet-Bagger" to a position of prominence. The less dramatic, but more abiding brother of the political adventurer who came to exploit the South, the economic "Carpet-Bagger," has been lost from sight. Moreover, with the recovery of conservative control in the southern states, the carpet-bagger, whether economic or political, has been made into a figure of ill repute. The more spectacular of the political adventurers doubtless deserved the odium which has been attached to the name, but even in the ranks of the political carpet-bagger there were many who do not deserve wholesale condemnation. The economic carpet-bagger, the man who came South, carpetbag in hand, after the war to exploit the natural resources of the land rather than the newly enfranchised freedman, deserves commendation rather than condemnation. In fact, the radical governments of the southern states, with the approval of the conservatives, attempted to encourage the immigration of Northerners and Europeans to their states. South Carolina and Tennessee established immigration boards to entice immigrants, and acts were passed to subsidize agencies which would send in immigrants.¹ In Tennessee, where many of the forces of reconstruction were more clear cut than in the other southern states, a considerable effort was made to attract immigrants.

Like most of the South, Tennessee had been shunned by immigrants before the Civil War. The presence of slavery, and the greater attractiveness of the western soils, combined to lead immigrants away from the South. More people left the slave states for the free states than came in from the North. In this situation, East Tennessee, which was not contaminated by the

*Read before the East Tennessee Historical Society at Knoxville, Oct. 2, 1931.

¹Hermann Bokum, *The Tennessee Handbook and Immigrants Guide* . . . , 129. For full title see n. 39.

presence of the peculiar institution to an oppressive extent, suffered with the rest of the state. Despite the fact that an Englishman, residing in East Tennessee, published in London a brochure calling on dairy maids, Scotch shepherds with collie dogs, hatters, and textile workers to migrate to East Tennessee,² the section suffered from the general neglect which the immigrant accorded the South. East Tennesseans, as a result, adopted a defense mechanism and declared that they did not want immigrants among them. The raucous Parson Brownlow screamed to the Reverend Pryne: "Leave us in the peaceable possession of our slaves, and our Northern Neighbors may have all the paupers and convicts that pour in upon us from European prisons!"³ In 1850 only 178,174 out of a total free population of 763,285 in Tennessee had been born outside the state. Most of those had come from other southern states, and only 5,740 were Europeans.⁴

By 1860, Parson Brownlow, who always reserved the right to change his mind, began to feel that capital should be encouraged to migrate to East Tennessee to develop its mineral resources.⁵ The war left East Tennessee with a depleted population,⁶ and when Brownlow returned from exile, he began to advocate the immigration of loyal men into his section. "We call the attention of loyal men in other states to the wants of this portion of Tennessee, and especially Knoxville. We want . . ." tin shops, house carpenters, boot and shoe shops, tanneries, tailors, blacksmiths, saddlers, harness makers, carriage makers, and Union mechanics, "to take the place of a vile set of rebel lick-spitters who have had their day, and whose prospective course, and persecution of loyal men forbid that they should ever do business here again."⁷

Brownlow's interest in immigration was political and social rather than economic. In November, 1864, he deplored the fact that Union women walked the streets of Louisville begging, while

²H. Gray Smith, *A Brief Historical, Statistical and Descriptive Review of East Tennessee, United States of America: Developing its immense Agricultural, Mining and Manufacturing Advantages with Remarks to Emigrants* (London, 1842), 50.

³J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, I, 355. Cf. William G. Brownlow and Abraham Pryne, *Ought American Slavery be Perpetuated?* (Philadelphia, 1858).

⁴*Compendium of the U. S. Census for 1850*, 116-117.

⁵*Parson Brownlow's Book*, 213-214.

⁶T. W. Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee*, 302.

⁷*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator*, Jan. 16, 1864.

their husbands were in the Federal army. "Thanks to God," he exclaimed, "labor is everywhere remunerative, and when this war is over the scornful, proud, and bitter rebel woman will find herself upon a level with the poor Union woman, without a gang of negroes at her command. . . . We hope to see the day in East Tennessee when it will no longer be dishonorable for young ladies to learn to *sew* and work in the kitchen. Nay, we desire to see the day come when the honest and virtuous poor, who have been punished and persecuted by the hateful aristocracy, will be called upon, in mercy, to give their descendants employment."⁸ The abolition of slavery was, to Brownlow, a means of bringing about the millenium.

Colonel Nat G. Taylor, a leading Unionist, was also convinced that the end of slavery would save the state, and informed the Parson, just before he became governor, that the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment would cause an increase of three-quarters of a million in the population of the state, and with negroes free, the development of the great natural resources of the state would begin.⁹ In his inaugural address, Brownlow, elaborating on this theme, declared that slavery was a "nuisance" which had obstructed the development of the state. One of the signs of the times," he continued, "is that the natural features of the Southern States are now being expiated upon, in order that enterprising emigrants may be led to come among us, and add to our capital and enterprise. Tennessee holds out inducements to wealthy and industrious emigrants that no other border state affords."¹⁰ But it is evident that Brownlow was more interested in the influx of capital than of labor, for, in his message to the legislature, he pointed out that there was reason to expect an increase of population after the war, and, enumerating the state debt, he suggested an increase of taxes.¹¹

The expected influx of capital to the South occurred. Cotton was high, and the southern planters were eager for capital. Desirous of selling their lands, the planters welcomed the northerner who came south with the idea that the negro would work for him out of gratitude. All over the Black Belt, cotton plan-

⁸*Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1864.

⁹Taylor to Brownlow, *ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1865.

¹⁰*Whig and Ventilator*, April 12, 1865.

¹¹*Ibid.*, April 19, 1865.

tations were sold or leased to ex-officers of the Union armies.¹² Newspapers in Tennessee urged their readers who had lands, mill or factory sites, or coal, copper, or lead mines, to advertise. The papers assured their readers that the notices would come to the attention of merchants, manufacturers, and bankers—"the very class of men . . . whose help is needed in developing the wealth of our great state."¹³ Companies were formed to develop the natural resources of the state. In 1865 the Tennessee Colonial, Agricultural, Mining, and Manufacturing Company, composed of one Tennessean and four New Yorkers, was chartered with a capital of \$200,000, and authorized to raise vineyards and engage in mining and manufacturing.¹⁴ The next year, the Tennessee Colonial and Immigration Company was formed.¹⁵ The companies were evidently intent on selling land to adventurous Yankees, but they do not seem to have accomplished much. In 1865 the state senate created a committee on immigration, which made no report.¹⁶ In the early part of 1867 the legislature incorporated, with a capital of five million dollars, the American Emigration Society, which was designed to sell land to northern and foreign immigrants.¹⁷

To some extent, these efforts to attract capital to Tennessee were successful. General J. T. Wilder, of Indiana, who had fought at Chattanooga and Knoxville, returned to Tennessee after the war, and began the manufacture of iron in Roane County.¹⁸ Iron foundries were opened by northern capital in Chattanooga,¹⁹ and the city directories of Chattanooga and Knoxville show a tremendous influx of northern business. In 1869 northern immigrants owned one-sixth of the property in Knoxville.²⁰

But if northern capital came to the South, northern labor did not. The conservative press was as eager as the radicals to obtain laborers. The Negroes were disorganized and were refusing to work, and the planters had hopes that northern and foreign labor would be steadier. "Immigration Societies,"

¹²W. L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 322-3.

¹³*Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Jan. 1, 1867.

¹⁴*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 34th General Assembly, 74.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 2nd session, 311.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 411.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 119-121.

¹⁸*Facts and Figures . . . Concerning East Tennessee*, 24.

¹⁹*Chattanooga News*, April 9, 1930.

²⁰*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Ventilator*, May 5, 1869.

mostly fraudulent, were formed to furnish labor to the planters,²¹ and in West Tennessee the planters perceived in immigration a means not only of restoring prosperity to agriculture, but of restoring the conservatives to power. The theory was advanced that Tennessee needed "a regular system of labor, and it can be obtained only by importation from abroad." Ignorant Germans and Irish, moreover, would vote as the planters directed. But the radical press pointed out that foreign immigrants who entered Missouri and the northwest "all vote the Republican ticket as faithfully as they hew wood and draw water."²²

The realization of the fact that the immigrants were supporters of the radical regime did not, in general, incline the conservatives to favor the newcomers. Despite the fact that the conservatives assured the immigrants that they were welcome, the radicals played up occasional outrages against them in order to keep them loyal to the Republican control. "Shoot and stab Union farmers, and burn down their sawmills," exhorted the radical press when a northerner's sawmill was burned; "It proves that rebels are anxious to encourage northern immigrants, and saves the trouble of proving one's loyalty by a test oath."²³ Such exhortations merely served to increase the resentment of the conservatives.

Whatever immigration of labor there was into Tennessee went into the eastern section. East Tennessee, loyalist and Republican, was the most orderly part of the state. The exodus of "a few men who made themselves obnoxious by their oppression of Union men during the war" and "sought more congenial society elsewhere" made room for "hundreds of families" of loyal men.²⁴ Of 367 immigrants who passed through Columbus, Ohio, in February 1867, 139 were going to Missouri and 35 to Tennessee. Since Missouri was also Republican, radicals in Tennessee, pointing out that Tennessee's immigration had increased since the passage of her radical laws, declared: "The people admire the radical policy."²⁵ West Tennessee received no immigrants because of its "ruffianism," while East Tennessee boasted of the arrival of from six to eight families a week.²⁶

²¹Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 318, 718.

²²Nashville *Daily Press and Times*, Feb. 13, 1867.

²³*Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1867.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1867.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1867.

²⁶*Ibid.*, March 19, 1867.

"There is a large number of farmers in Tennessee," declared the radical organ in Nashville, "who are pressed for money, and would gladly sell a part of their lands, but no immigration comes to relieve them. Immigrants prefer lands of the strongly loyal portion of the state to the richest lands of this division, where there is a bitter opposition to the State Government. It is a remarkable fact that Missouri and East Tennessee are receiving more new settlers than all the rest of the South. Immigrants want peace, and they naturally seek that in loyal communities."²⁷

Possibly because of the unsettled condition of the state, most of the immigrants came in groups of several families, or even in colonies. In the summer of 1867 a colony of Pennsylvanians purchased some 40,000 acres of iron lands in Hickman County and proposed to manufacture iron. This colony was welcomed by the press of the state, and farmers with surplus lands were urged to offer small farms for sale to such immigrants. The colony was hailed as the "harbinger of better days" for the South.²⁸ At Sneedsville, a colony of thirty families of "thrifty and independent" Pennsylvanians was settled.²⁹ Lands in the South were selling at the time as cheap as five dollars an acre, and it was suggested that companies be organized in the north to buy up southern lands and settle them with German, Norwegian, or Dutch farmers. "No investment offers so sure and large a profit."³⁰

The desire for European immigrants even led the farmers of Maury County to contribute to the building of a Catholic church in Columbia, in hopes that Irish would be attracted to the community.³¹ The various German societies in Nashville called a meeting of all German citizens at Turner Hall "to take into consideration the best measures for promoting German immigration to this state." Simultaneous meetings were held in Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Memphis, and it was hoped that branch societies would be formed throughout the state. These societies would assist immigrants to find suitable locations, and help them get established.³² The "German Association of the City of Nashville" was established, and received a charter from

²⁷*Ibid.*, April 29, 1867.

²⁸*Ibid.*, April 22 and Sept. 11, 1867.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1868.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1868.

³¹*Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1867.

³²*Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1867.

the legislature. By the act of incorporation, the society was "authorized to procure laborers for parties applying to them; to act as agents for land owners desirous of selling their property, and for parties wishing to buy lands in the State of Tennessee."³³ The society held regular meetings for a time. At its first meeting, it suggested that the state establish a bureau of immigration.³⁴

When the legislators met in the fall of 1867, Governor Brownlow informed them that his "fond hope . . . that a tide of immigration would set in to this State from the Northern States and from Europe" had not been gratified. That the "mild and healthy climate, fertile soil, magnificent scenery, and pure and abundant water" of Tennessee had not enticed "men of capital and enterprise," he attributed to the "intolerant and proscriptive spirit" of the former Confederates. This spirit, said the governor, was the obvious result of the "insane" policy of President Johnson, "who constantly holds out . . . [to these pestilential disloyalists] . . . the prospect of being restored to power at an early day." But as the influence of Johnson was declining, Brownlow hoped for a better spirit in the state, and suggested that the legislature take steps to encourage immigration.³⁵ Both Senate and House appointed standing committees on immigration,³⁶ and in December, 1867, the State Board of Immigration of five members was established.

The State Board of Immigration was authorized to "do all and everything which may and will advance and encourage immigration." It might publish books and pamphlets, and advertise in northern newspapers. Agents were to be sent to northern and eastern states. One thousand dollars were appropriated to carry on this work, and the board was allowed to receive contributions from any who might be interested.³⁷ As commissioner under the board, Brownlow appointed the Reverend Hermann Bokum, formerly an agent of the Freedman's Bureau in East Tennessee, and described as a "ripe German scholar."

³³*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 35th General Assembly, 24.

³⁴*Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Aug. 21, 1867.

³⁵*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 35th General Assembly, Appendix, 15-16.

³⁶*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 35th Assembly, 303, 317.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 11-12 (December 4, 1867).

During the war, Bokum had been in the immigration bureau of the Department of State in Washington.³⁸

Less than three months after his appointment, Bokum published a book setting forth the attractions of Tennessee. After a description of the state as a whole, Bokum dealt with the counties of each division. The thirty counties of East Tennessee were described in detail in forty-nine pages, whereas forty-two pages sufficed for the fifty-four counties of the other two divisions. In the general account of the state, East Tennessee was most frequently referred to, and generally to the disparagement of the other sections. West Tennessee received only fourteen pages, and most of them dealt with the city of Memphis where there were twelve thousand Germans.

The animus back of this preference for East Tennessee was obviously political. The war, declared Bokum, had swept away the institution of slavery, and afforded an opportunity for East Tennessees and northerners to get acquainted. "And it gradually placed the people of East Tennessee, in consequence of their unbending loyalty, in a position of great influence in the direction of the affairs of the state." This position had been used to reestablish the state's finances, restore order, establish public schools, and develop the resources of the state. The agricultural resources were dealt with, but Bokum showed a greater enthusiasm in writing about the mineral resources and the industrial opportunities. The presence of slavery had hitherto prevented the working of the mineral resources, but Bokum anticipated a great stimulus in that field. As for manufactures, the people of East Tennessee were earnestly advocating their establishment. "They have come to the conclusion," he asserted, "that they are too poor to do without manufactories," and were realizing that an overemphasis on agriculture was

³⁸Knoxville *Daily Free Press*, Dec. 17, 1867; Bokum, *op. cit.*, 3-4, 126 note. The state comptroller in his report to the legislature believed that this state effort would bring results. "If cheap lands, a fertile soil, a most salubrious and invigorating atmosphere, a home market for all the products of the soil, are the considerations that influence immigrants in their choice of future homes, then surely Tennessee offers them all, with fewer drawbacks than does any other state in the Union. . . . Hitherto, the existence of slavery repelled from our state, that class of immigrants best calculated to develop our agricultural wealth. Now that this objection is removed, and that the large landed proprietors find it to their interest to cut up their estates, and sell, or lease, in such quantity as may be desired, we have every confidence that the tide of immigration will soon set Tennessee-ward". *Reports to the 35th General Assembly*, 55.

making them "poorer every day." The legislature had declared that, without industrial development, Tennessee would never be other than a pauper state.

As for agriculture, which received but little attention from the scholarly German, Bokum promised a renaissance when the growing of cotton, which had supported the slave system, and which had exhausted the soil, should give way before diversified crops. West Tennessee, thought Bokum, might in time rival Illinois as a cereal producing section, and the introduction of a farming population that had been accustomed to a better system of agriculture might be a help. "Still it ought to be borne in mind," said he, bearing in mind the minerals, "that they can only aid in the work which is to be accomplished."

Since Bokum was more interested in the migration of capital than of labor, he found himself forced to dispel the illusion that lawlessness prevailed in the state. He offered his own testimony that there was not a more law-abiding section of the country than East Tennessee, and declared that capitalists had invested heavily in the section and were extending their operations. Moreover, he argued, "the great mass of the citizens of Tennessee are favorable to immigration, and are likely to treat the immigrant with courtesy and kindness. In this respect differences of political opinion have but little weight. . . . I have found that gentlemen who hold political opinions diagonally opposite the one from the other are still ready to join with each other in building up the State by introducing into it capital and an industrious immigrant population."

In an address to the people, Bokum appealed for support for the State Board of Immigration and urged the legislature to send agents to northern cities and to Europe to set forth Tennessee's advantages. Farmers with lands for sale should unite in advertising them in newspapers and circulars, and he suggested that in each county there should be established associations which would co-operate with the state board in disseminating information. Several such associations were formed, and the legislature, in order to encourage the project, purchased two thousand dollars worth of Bokum's book for circulation.³⁹

³⁹Hermann Bokum, *The Tennessee Handbook and Immigrants Guide: Giving a Description of the State of Tennessee; Its Agricultural and Mineralogical Character; Its Waterpower, Timber, Soil, and Climate; Its Various Railroad Lines, Completed in Progress, and Projected; Its Adaptation for Stock Raising, Grape Culture, etc.,*

The publication of this book had considerable effect in creating interest within the state, and doubtless some were attracted by it from the outside. A bill was introduced into the legislature to invite capital and manufacturing to the state, and it was proposed to form an association to encourage industry. During 1868 a number of colonies were established in the state, possibly as a result of this official effort. A colony of one hundred from Pennsylvania and Indiana was established on a tract of land purchased for the purpose in Overton County; English grape growers established themselves in Grundy County. In Cumberland County, the efforts of W. W. Powell, the land agent, resulted in 119 immigrants coming in, and in Roane County, General Wilder's iron establishment was successful, and had a town of three hundred around it. An immigration company was planned in Memphis which would settle European colonies along the Mississippi and Tennessee railroads.⁴⁰ Brownlow received letters, even from Iowa, asking for more information about the state.⁴¹

Not all of these "plantations" were successful: a "Dutch" colony near Columbia failed, and the local press declared that the Germans were no better than negroes, who, at least, were able to speak English.⁴² Moreover, the report persisted that Tennesseans warred on strangers from the north. The Nashville organ of the radicals, in denying this, declared: "We would rejoice heartily to see a hundred thousand Northern business men settle in this state during the present year. Between this

etc., With Special Reference to the Subject of Immigration (Philadelphia, 1868). See especially pp. 6-7, 13, 54, 84, 95, 101-2, 105-6, 109, 132-35. A sample of some of the information which was thought to have an appeal for immigrants is the following letter from W. W. Powell of Cumberland County to Bokum: "My first knowledge of this country dates back to May, 1860, at which time I came here a confirmed invalid, made so by bronchitis, affection of the kidneys, chronic rheumatism, liver complaint, jaundice, and general debility. From all these difficulties I was in a few months entirely relieved, with the single exception of bronchitis from which I was so far relieved as to be entirely exempt, up to the present time, from suffering. My residence here during the entire summer of 1860 secured to me a degree of health and strength never before enjoyed, and which I have in no measure lost. I have now, at the age of sixty-two, the elasticity of boyhood, and the firm step and ruddy complexion of sound health. Under these circumstances you will not be surprised at my unqualified testimony in favor of this climate. I have carefully watched its influence upon the condition of others, as well as my own, and have often questioned what disease it, in connection with a free and persistent use of our chalybee waters, will not cure, or at least greatly alleviate" (p. 101).

⁴⁰Nashville *Daily Press and Times*, Feb. 21, March 2, April 6, Sept. 21, March 23, 1868.

⁴¹*Whig and Ventilator*, March 18, 1868.

⁴²*Press and Times*, April 1, 1868.

class of newcomers and old residents we make no distinction.” However, the paper declared that the “riffraff” who came in for politics were not wanted.⁴³ An Ohioan at Greeneville wrote north that East Tennessee, at least, welcomed immigrants and that the “Southern Feeling” was gone from all but the minds of a few “fossils.”

On the whole, immigrants seem to have been desired by all social and political classes. The annual report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1867 showed that immigration to the United States was on the increase, and estimated that every immigrant added one thousand dollars annually to the productive wealth of the country. Since this made the laborer as desirable as the capitalist, Bokum was exhorted to “take courage, and work with spirit, hope and renewed vigor.”⁴⁴

Bokum did not need to be exhorted to work. In March, 1868, he reported that he had received detailed accounts of their resources from several counties, and that large numbers of northern people had entered the state. One speech before a farmers club in New York had resulted in fifty letters of inquiry, and many people were moving. Cumberland, Warren, Coffee, Franklin, Dickson, and Bradley counties had received accessions through his efforts.⁴⁵ In May he moved his headquarters to New York and had received fifty dollars in subscriptions to aid his work. One man offered to be one of one hundred to give one hundred dollars each, if the state would appropriate \$10,000 to encourage immigration.⁴⁶ Bokum spent much of his time writing letters to New York papers, assuring them of the law-abiding tendencies of East Tennessee, and pointing out the investment of northern capital in the copper mines at Ducktown, in the zinc mines of Mossy Creek, the iron foundries in Greene County, and the marble quarries in Hawkins as proof of the reign of law and order. The presence of a snow storm in May was used by Bokum to praise the climate of Tennessee; two months before, when New York was in the midst of such a storm, Bokum had stood on the top of Lookout Mountain, “intensely enjoying the invigorating and exhilarating air.”⁴⁷ Speeches were also used

⁴³*Ibid.*, July 15, 1868.

⁴⁴*Whig and Ventilator*, March 18; *Press and Times*, March 9, 1868.

⁴⁵*Press and Times*, March 14, 1868.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, May 16, 1868.

⁴⁷Bokum to the New York *Tribune*, quoted in *Whig and Ventilator*, May 20, 1868.

by Bokum to set forth Tennessee's attractions.⁴⁸ Moreover, Bokum traveled over Tennessee, inspecting colonies, new industries, and the resources of the counties.⁴⁹

Despite these activities, Brownlow was not satisfied. When the legislature met in the fall of 1868, the governor stated that his convictions on immigration had grown stronger, even though Tennessee was being avoided by immigrants. The many advantages of the state—climate, soils, forests, minerals, railroads, and scenery—which were so obvious to Brownlow, were not appreciated by the immigrant, and the governor decided that further steps should be taken. He suggested the incorporation of a state immigration society, and the appropriation of an annual sum to encourage immigration. Other southern states had adopted this method, and Brownlow believed that the future held out hopes for the South. This optimism was inspired by the recent election. "The election of Grant and Colfax means peace"; he asserted, "it means that carpetbaggers are not to be molested in Tennessee; that capital, coming to us from abroad, whether of brains or hands, or money, is not to be spurned, proscribed, persecuted, because it comes from north of a given line."⁵⁰ In his newspaper, Brownlow pointed out the need of Tennessee for factories for farm machinery, canneries, soap factories, and rolling mills. The state Senate, in reply to this message, established a standing committee of five to consider the question of immigration.⁵¹

In January, 1869, an immigration meeting, planned to form a state society, was held in the capitol. Secretary of State Fletcher, ex-officio member of the state board, presided over the meeting, and described the work of the board. The needs of the state for a diversified system of labor was dwelt upon. A speaker told of the aims of the already extinct German society, and Bokum held out hope by an account of his voluminous correspondence.⁵² But the proposed state society was not formed, for the legislature refused to appropriate the necessary subsidy.⁵³ The work of Bokum and the state board, however, con-

⁴⁸*Whig and Ventilator*, June 10 (speech at Pittsburgh).

⁴⁹See letters from Bokum in the *Press and Times*, Aug. 14 and 29, 1868.

⁵⁰*Whig and Ventilator*, Nov. 18, 1868.

⁵¹*Acts of Tennessee*, 2nd session, 35th General Assembly, 377.

⁵²*Press and Times*, Jan. 13, 1869.

⁵³*Whig and Ventilator*, March 3, 1869.

tinued,⁵⁴ while the presidents of southern railroads commended Bokum's work, and reduced the fare for immigrants to one cent a mile.⁵⁵

But if the legislature failed to make appropriations for immigration, local interest did not flag. The Knoxville Industrial Association published a pamphlet setting forth the advantages of East Tennessee, and especially Knoxville, to the immigrating laborer or capitalist. Although the association admitted that the soil of East Tennessee would not compare with that of the western states, it declared that "it quickly responds to kind treatment." But the greater part of the book dealt with the mineral resources and the industrial opportunities of the region. Most of the facts were supplied by Judge O. P. Temple and General J. T. Wilder. The section, said the association, abounded in minerals, and in regard to manufactures, "we offer all the advantages of choice and monopoly of a *New State*." Cotton mills, iron foundries, and marble quarries were needed. The association also set forth the advantage that came from cheap labor in Knoxville; unskilled labor was paid from \$0.75 to \$1.35 a day, while skilled labor was about the same as in the North. Moreover, the newcomer was assured that he would be welcomed by all classes. East Tennessee, unlike other parts of the state, and of the South, was quiet and peaceable; Ku Klux outrages were all in Middle and West Tennessee.⁵⁶

It is evident that East Tennessee was more interested in the development of its industrial and mineral resources than in encouraging the immigration of agricultural labor. But the rest of the state desired relief from agricultural disorder. One observer declared that the entire South was inviting immigrants "to help rebuild, on the ruins and ashes of war, the coveted temple of prosperity."⁵⁷ With this desire for immigrants, southern members of Congress supported a bill for subsidizing, by a contract for carrying mail, a steamship company which, supported by southern immigration societies, would bring European immigrants to the South.⁵⁸ In Memphis, planters

⁵⁴*Press and Times*, March 22, 1869.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Jan. 4 and 22, 1869.

⁵⁶*Facts and Figures concerning the Climate, Manufacturing Advantages and the Agricultural and Mineral Resources of East Tennessee* (Published under the direction of the Knoxville Industrial Association, Knoxville, 1869).

⁵⁷Goddard, *Where to Immigrate and Why* (Philadelphia, 1869), 335-36.

⁵⁸*Press and Times*, July 9, 1869.

from West Tennessee assembled to consider the advantages of importing Chinese labor. These, said one Tye Kim Orr, a Chinese who addressed the meeting, could be contracted for in China at from ten to twelve dollars a month and transported to Memphis for less than one hundred and fifty dollars.⁵⁹ The planters agreed to raise a million dollars for the project, but even the radical press opposed the idea of supplanting Christian negroes by heathen Chinese who "despise your Bible, deride your God, and hate your religion."⁶⁰

By this time the state of Tennessee had passed into the control of the Democrats, but there is no indication that the conservatives were any less willing than the radicals to encourage immigration. Among the first acts of the Democratic legislature was the incorporation of the Mississippi Valley Immigration Company, which numbered among its promoters such ex-Confederates as General Gideon J. Pillow and Governor Isham G. Harris. However, it was provided that Chinese would not be imported by the company.⁶¹ This legislature also authorized counties to issue bonds in order to subscribe for stock in the Mediterranean and Oriental Steam Navigation Company which planned to bring immigrants from Europe direct to southern ports.⁶² A further step was taken when the legislature offered to pay this company twenty-five dollars for each immigrant imported to the state.⁶³ It was evident, however, that the conservatives were more interested in encouraging the introduction of European immigrants than of northern capital.

In the second session of the legislature, the act of 1867, creating the board of immigration, was repealed.⁶⁴ Seemingly, this was a sign of conservative disapproval of the radical program, but in reality, it was only a move to get rid of radical office holders. In the next session, the House of Representatives passed a resolution in favor of encouraging immigration,⁶⁵ and in December, 1871, the board was reestablished.⁶⁶ It continued its activities until it was merged with the Bureau of Agriculture, which still keeps up the effort to attract settlers to Tennessee.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, July 15, 1869.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, September 1, 1869.

⁶¹*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 36th General Assembly, 188.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 324-5.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 326. Cf., *Nashville Union and American*, May 29, June 2 and 25, 1870.

⁶⁴*Acts of Tennessee*, 2nd session, 36th Assembly, 97.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 3rd session, 182.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 1st session, 37th General Assembly, 75-77.

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LETTERS OF GOVERNOR WILLIAM BLOUNT

EDITED BY PHILIP M. HAMER

William Blount, the oldest of the eight children of Jacob and Barbara Gray Blount, was born in North Carolina, March 26, 1749. He entered public life as an officer in the army of revolutionary North Carolina in 1776 and was thereafter, until his death, almost continuously in public office. He served in both houses of the North Carolina legislature and in the Continental Congress. He was a member of the Convention of 1787 that framed the Constitution of the United States and of the North Carolina convention that ratified the Constitution. In 1790 President Washington appointed him to the office of governor of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio (more briefly known as the Southwest Territory). Blount was the president of the convention that in 1796 framed the constitution under which the Southwest Territory became the state of Tennessee. He was one of Tennessee's first United States Senators, but his service in the Senate was brief. He was charged with conspiracy to attack the nearby possessions, Florida and Louisiana, of a friendly power, Spain, and was expelled from the Senate. Almost at once he was elected to the Tennessee Senate and was chosen to be speaker of that body. Further political preferment at the hands of Tennesseans was prevented by his death on March 21, 1800.

The following letters were written by William Blount during the six years of his service as governor of the Southwest Territory. The originals are in the Draper Collection of Manuscripts in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Permission to print them has kindly been given by that society. The editor has attempted to give in printed form as accurate a reproduction as possible of the capitalization, punctuation, and spelling of the originals. Only the formal conclusions and signatures have been omitted.

To Daniel Smith¹

At Mr Yancey's in the ceded Territory of the
United States South of the River Ohio October
11th 1790.

Dear Sir,

I arrived here yesterday. My servant was [sick] on the Road or I should have been here five days sooner.— I find it necessary to fill the Commissions for the civil officers on this Side Cumberland Mountain before I come over to your part of the state, this I shall do as soon as I can and then come on.— I shall much need your assistance but shall do the best I can without you taking it for granted that you will have no Objection [to] authenticating my executive Acts upon my Record of them. When I shall be over I can form no positive Opinion but it shall certainly be as soon as the Business here to be done will permit

*“The Answer of Governor Blount to The Address of
the officers and other Inhabitants of the County of
Greene,”* November 8, 1790.

Gentlemen,

With you I have long since been convinced that a Separation of this Territory from the State of North Carolina would tend to the Happyness of both and as a Member of her Legislature ever did what was in my power to effect so desirable an Event and in my present Station I shall be equally diligent in my Endeavours to realize that Happyness which We have all anticipated.

I thank you for your Congratulations and Assurances of Support to the Dignity and Energy of Government

To General Daniel Smith

Mr Cobbs² April 17th 1791

Dear Sir,

On the 26th of last Month Cox, Gilbert and Strother³ and

¹Daniel Smith was one of the first settlers in the Cumberland region. In 1790 he was appointed secretary of the Southwest Territory.

²For some time after his arrival in the territory Blount made his home with William Cobb on the Watauga River, not far from the present Johnson City.

³Zachariah Cox, Thomas Gilbert, John Strother, and others were members of the Tennessee Company to which Georgia had sold land in the Musclee Shoals region. They planned to promote a settlement near the Shoals. Because of the fact that this region lay within territory that the United States had recognized as belonging to the Indians, President Washington issued a proclamation forbidding the making of the proposed settlement. It was attempted, nevertheless, but was broken up by the Indians.

twenty nine other armed men left the Mouth of French Broad and proceeded down the River, I believe only three of them were of this Territory namely James Hubbard, Peter Bryan and John Riddle. What operation the Conduct of these People may have on the Treaty is impossible for me to tell but if it has not a bad one I have no doubt I shall have a good Treaty.—⁴ I have not received any official Information from either of the Secretaries since your departure but I am informed through a Channel to which I pay full faith that all the Goods contained in my Estimate and more too are ordered by the President to be forwarded to me via Richmond. Whether the Land Law is passed or not I am also uninformed but I suspect it is not. General Seveir⁵ is not returned. Judge Campbell⁶ has proceeded on to Philadelphia— A Mr Anderson⁷ of the State of Delaware is appointed in the Place of Mr Perry resigned but not yet arrived. Congress have passed an Act authorizing the President so to extend the ten Miles square for the permanent seat of Government as to include Alexandria, the Mouth of the eastern Branch and the Mouth of Hunting Creek that is they have passed an Act agreeable to his wishes and design in the Report which you saw when here. The Act imposing a duty on distilled spirits from the Growth of the United States is also passed the duty on the lowest proof is 9 Cents per Gallon and higher according to the Proof if stilled in any Town or Village and upon all stills sit up in the Country 60 Cents per Gallon. It is said that this Act does not extend to either of the territorial Districts. The next Congress meet in October— The President is now on his Tour to the Southward.— Major King⁸ from the Cherokees writes me that he has found one of the Chickasaws at Chota who informed as well as he could understand that both the Canoes in which were the four Chickasaws

⁴The Treaty of the Holston, negotiated with the Cherokee Indians by William Blount, was signed on July 2, 1791. By it the Indians ceded a considerable tract of land in what now is Tennessee.

⁵John Sevier was Brigadier-General of the militia of Washington District of the Southwest Territory. In a number of letters by Blount and in some other contemporary records the name was spelled *Seveir*.

⁶David Campbell was one of the judges of the Southwest Territory.

⁷Joseph Inslee Anderson was one of the judges of the Southwest Territory. A biographical sketch by Fay E. McMillan is in *East Tenn. Hist. Soc., Publications*, No. 2 (Knoxville, 1930), 81-93.

⁸Robert King, for whom the town of Kingston, Tennessee, was named.

were over turned in the Tennessee about the Suck,⁹ that they got on shore with the loss of all their Presents, Cloathing & arms to the runing Water Town, that after being there some Time they discovered the Cherokees would kill them which induced them to quit the Cherokees under the Cover of a dark rainey Night almost naked and without arms. What has become of the other three I have not heard— Major King ordered the one that he found up to Gen. Cocks in order that he might pass the Wilderness with the Bearer Mr Allison¹⁰ having first procured him some Cloaths which I shall pay for.— I wish you would take the earliest opportunity of stating the Treatment of these Chactaws fairly to the Mountain Leader¹¹ for I suspect it will be mistated and perhaps much to my Injury— If the Choctaw comes with Mr Allison you can write by him— I forwarded the Letter to the Chickasaws which you copied as soon as I knew the Tennessee People had pushed off that is I put it into the Hands of King to forward from the Cherokees— If you have Leisure I shall be happy to see you at the Treaty I do not mean on any particular Business—

*To Joseph Martin*¹²

Treaty Ground June 6th 1791

Dear Sir,

Why did you not write me by an old man who told you he was coming to this Place.— Reports have prevailed to your disadvantage which are happily contradicted in decided Terms by Mr Ore and Mr Hacket and Capt. Fauche witnesses your endeavours to put the Indians in the proper way of Thinking for which I return you my Thanks, pray continue them. I shall be glad to see you and Mr Madison with you— I do not promise to employ him as an Interpreter but if I do not it will be because the Indians object to him and I do not know their sentiments on that head yet.

⁹A treacherous place in the Tennessee River, a few miles below Chattanooga. For many years it was a great hinderance to navigation of the river.

¹⁰Probably David Allison with whom Blount was at times associated in land speculations.

¹¹Otherwise known as Piamingo, a Chickasaw chieftain.

¹²Note by L. C. Draper: "At this period Gen. Martin was trading in the Cherokee nation."

To Joseph Martin

Treaty Ground near the Mouth of
French Broad on the Bank of the
Holston¹³ June 16th 1791

Dear Sir,

Your Letters of the 14th and 15th Instant by Mr. Davidson and Mr Shields I have received for both of which I am much obliged to you. I am very sorry for the Offence that the Bloody Fellow and Watts have taken and am at a loss how to remove it. I am sure it was not intended. If I was to write to them I do not suppose it would have any good Effect.— I can only request my good Sir that you will use your Influence to convince them that no offence has been intended and to aid Major King with your Advice when you see he stands in need of Advice.— I thank you for your friendly offices and beg that you will continue them to the bringing about the Treaty which for days past has appeared in a very promising way.— You may assure the Indians in the strongest Terms of good Treatment and I assure you it is their true Interest to come in and treat.— I really wish they would so conduct themselves as that it may be in the Power of the United States to make them a much happier People than they are or can be if they do not treat.— Colonels Shelby and Kenney arrived here yesterday from Kentucky with a Deposition respecting the Injury that Country has sustained [from] the Cherokees and their Injuries had been so great that Nothing but the approaching Treaty prevented an army marching before this for the Destruction of the Chickamogga Towns— The People at large of Kentucky were so determined on this Measure that it was with great difficulty they could be restrained by the more thinking part of the officers.— Be pleased to show this Letter to Major King—

To John Sevier

Mr Cobbs January 2d 1792

Dear Sir,

I have granted the License to Jo¹⁴ as extensively as he wished. Mr Allison sat off for Philadelphia on Wednesday and I have

¹³On the site of the present Knoxville. The Tennessee River from Knoxville to the mouth of the Little Tennessee was then called the Holston.

¹⁴John Sevier's oldest son, Joseph.

to beg your Pardon for not giving you timely Information but it really never occurred to me until the very Morning he was about to sit out and then it was too late to answer any good Purpose to you. I lament with you the Loss of so many valuable Men particularly that of Captain Tipton¹⁵ he was certainly a young Man of great Bravery and worth.— Mr Allison informed me that he directed Mr Nuolick to send up to your Care from Richmond a Box of glass If it is come I beg you to take the first opportunity of forwarding it down to Knoxville¹⁶ or to Evan's Ferry perhaps Jo can carry it in his waggon. I shall be at Jonesboro, I believe on Wednesday on my way to Knoxville.—

To John Sevier

Jonesboro. Thursday March 8th 92

Dear Sir

I am thus far on my way to Knoxville with my family and should have been happy in Meeting you here but as I have not I console myself with the Hope of shortly seeing you at Knoxville on your long threatened visit to that part of the Country.— On Tuesday I paid a Visit to Colonel Tipton,¹⁷ my Reception was kind and the Interview very satisfactory.— Conciliation and Public Happyness were the Objects. While I was there the Petition of which you have heard was committed to the flames by the Colonel Himself in presence of Dd Allison. I was first induced to think of this Visit by Communications made to me by Judge Campbell and am truly pleased with the Event.— Mr Allison went off yesterday quite uneasy lest by some mistake the several notes he had written you giving you Information of the Time he would set out had failed to reach you in Time—

¹⁵Captain Jacob Tipton, commander of a company of volunteers from the Southwest Territory, was killed in the battle in which, on November 4, 1791, the North-western Indians defeated the army of General Arthur St. Clair in the present state of Ohio.

¹⁶Presumably this glass was intended for Governor Blount's home. As early as July 22, 1791, Blount had determined to make the place where he negotiated the treaty with the Cherokee his future home and the capital of the territory, and had decided to name it Knoxville. The town was laid out and Blount purchased a lot at the first sale, October 3, 1791. His home still stands and has been placed in the custody of the Governor William Blount Mansion Association.

¹⁷John Tipton was the leader of a faction that was hostile to John Sevier during the days of the State of Franklin and after.

To Daniel Smith

Knoxville April 27th 1792

Dear Sir,

I have not yet heard from David Allison so that I know not how my Proposals for a Treaty with the Chickasaws and Choctaws will be received.— All I know respecting these Nations as to the Intentions of Congress towards them is contained in some Letters from the Secretary of War to their Chiefs which are committed to the Bearer and Mr A. Foster to deliver. The Seals are not closed and they have my Instructions to give you and General Robertson the reading of them before they are.— On the 21st the Cherokee Chiefs arrived from Philadelphia¹⁸ with Mr Shaw and on the 23d proceeded down the River to Coyatee with their own and the Goods of the Nation for the annual allowance where a General meeting of the Nation is to take place shortly say within twenty days and the national Goods to be divided— Their own amount to about 3700 dollars and those for the Nation about 1700.— I am strongly solicited to attend this meeting and shall do it and its probable Mrs Blount will accompany me— I have promised them for Provisions twenty Cattle & some meal and it appears to me essential that I should be there. You recollect the Character we heard of Shaw inquire further on that Head of Judge Campbell.— The Journey of the Chiefs to Philadelphia altogether will cost about ten thousand dollars. You will no doubt ask but how will you conduct yourself at this meeting I answer in such manner as shall leave the United States at liberty to punish the offending Indians or not as they please that is I will neither promise Forgiveness nor demand Satisfaction— A Book is brought forward containing all the Talks held at Philadelphia and it appears the Chiefs acknowledge the signing and understanding the Treaty but have egregiously lied as to the means and manner of its being brought about so much that for my own Justification I must reply to it particularly. I would more properly have said in gratification of my own Feelings I can say nothing about the Running of the Line until after the meeting at Coyatee and it may be that they and myself may so agree as to need no Com-

¹⁸Some of the Cherokee, dissatisfied with the payment that was provided them in the Treaty of the Holston for the ceded lands, went to Philadelphia and secured some additional compensation.

missioners in extending the Line near this Place— I shall try for it but I fear I shall not succeed.— The very day I ordered a draft in Hawkins of a Company to be sent for the Protection of the Frontiers of Mero District the Wife of Harper Ratcliff and Children were killed — (See the Knoxville Gazette).—¹⁹ Sundry Horses stolen and a Party of Indians pursued and fired on by Colonel Cox of Russell County— This last Circumstance was much complained of by the uper Towns as the Party fired on did not happen to be the same that took the Horses— All this so alarmed the People of this County that I could not think of marching men from it and have been obliged to issue an Order for the Company to range on the Frontiers of it.— I have not yet ordered another to be raised in lieu from any other County— You know how reluctantly I order drafts.— I have Hopes that Hostilities will cease and that the two Companies ordered out of the Cumberland People will be sufficient for to protect the Frontiers.

Its pretty certain Bowls²⁰ has left the Creeks and that McGillivray is returning to that Nation— I shall not forward Thornberry's Deposition to the Secretary of War until I again hear from you— If you take it over again I beg you to insert the Circumstance of double Head having a Pass signed by me as this would be a great Proof of his having been at the Treaty and of his being the same who signed it for it may be that Northern People may wish to have it understood that the mischief is done by Indians who were not at the Treaty and who do not consider themselves bound by it— Pray persivere in your Determination to take the Deposition of Doct Waters on this Subject. In taking Thornberry's anew it will be best to take notice of such Things as he can swere to fully and particularly, putting in the Mischief done at Cumberland generally will destroy even that which is particularly mentioned

From what I have heard there is no doubt but Double Head is guilty as charged by Thornberry.— Judge Campbell has found great difficulty in *his Mind* in setting out, I have furnished a guard for him and used every argument to send him

¹⁹This was the first paper published in Tennessee. A file for the years 1791-95 is in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society in Nashville. A photostatic copy of this file is in the McClung Collection of the Lawson McGhee Library in Knoxville.

²⁰William Augustus Bowles was an adventurer in the Creek Nation and a rival of the Creek chieftain, Alexander McGillivray.

forward— I wish him well and that much attention should be paid to him— If he is not attended to it will afford great Pleasure to a man who deserves Pain only at my Hands— I must tell you if the lower Towns are not furnished it will not be for the want of a just Statement of their Conduct so far as it has come to my knowledge— I shall lay out two new Counties as soon as Judge Campbell returns— Please communicate the Contents of this Letter to General Robertson²¹ as I may not write him so fully.—

To Daniel Smith

Governor Blount's Compliments to Secretary Smith, will thank him to cause the Patents inclosed herewith to be recorded pay the Expense and sent back to him. The Expense shall be repaid.— April 29th 1792.—

P. S. Since writing and closing my Letter to you a Letter is to hand from Allison in which is the following Paragraph "The Secretary of War observed Governor Blounts Plans were certainly founded on Policy as well as the true Principles of Justice that he would venture to assure me every part should be complied with and that I might write the Governor to that Purport which I have now done as nearly as I can recollect in his own words"— This was the answer of the first Interview so that it is not fully and absolutely to be depended upon as the President was to be consulted, but promises well— Allison's letter was dated March 25th and he adds as soon as he has a positive answer after the President is consulted he will inform me by Express.

To Daniel Smith

July 24th 1792

Dear Sir,

Smith, Foster and Robertson are returned with a large and full Representation of the Chickasaws and about one hundred and twenty Chaetaws among whom are some Chiefs of Consequence— As yet the greater part are out upon Harper for the Benefit of Grass for their Horses.— No News of Allison nor my Boats.— A Party are gone down to the Mouth of Duck to meet them.— McCabe wishes you to send down two Hogsheads

²¹James Robertson was a leading figure in the Cumberland settlement and Brigadier-General of the militia of Mero District of the Southwest Territory.

of Tobacco as soon as you can— The Hogshead he had of Deadrick is nearly out.— It seems a Meeting of the District is to take place at Nashville on Saturday to draw up a State of Sufferings &c &c. I wish you to be present and I shall be happy to see you then and at all other Times— Suppose you come down on Thursday that we may talk Things over and over on Friday.—

To John Sevier

Knoxville May 31st. 1793.

Sir,

That I had a right to call an Assembly when it should be ascertained to me that there were five thousand male inhabitants in the Territory of full age, I never had a doubt but I doubted whether it would be to the benefit of the people for me so to do. Hence I referred the question Assembly or no Assembly to the people at large, Believing they were the best judges of it, and that the people at large would not be otherwise than pleased at the decision of the majority. In making this reference, I endeavoured to do it in such terms as to express no opinion or wish of my own, for nor against the question, nor have I in any letter or verbal communication expressed my wishes against an Assembly— but on the contrary if the people wished an Assembly I wished them to have it, and still wish it, if the people believe it will be for their benefit. It has been said by some persons, and I would willingly hope upon good motives, that the question has been taken hastily, and that the people have been surprised into a negative of the question, and that if it was again put it would be determined in the affirmative upon better information and a more perfect knowledge of their affairs and situation.

It is my wish that the question should be considered as yet open for their determination. Observe I say *wish* for I can only recommend or request of the people, not order it, and I considered my former circular letter on that head as recommendatory not mandatory. That was the mode in which the census was taken, and it met the approbation of the people. The bustle made at several of the county courts about the act respecting the tax upon proceedings at law would appear to me to be premature, and can tend only to sow an impolitic and unwise degree of dissatisfaction among the unthinking but well meaning part of the people. The right to disapprove that act is vested

in Congress only. The necessity for the Governor and Judges to pass an act on that subject was evident. Some Clerks and other Officers had demanded and received the tax imposed by the law of North Carolina, others had declined it. Those who had received the taxes, without the act, were without any power to call them to account for the sums received, and certainly it could not be consistent with the public interest that they should collect them for their own use and benefit. This was an evil that a Grand Jury presented as a grievance, as I have been informed. The object of the act was to please not to displease the people. The taxes when collected are for the common benefit of the people at large and will be appropriated by a legislature whenever that event takes place and not till then.

No body will say that the Ordinance the temporary constitution of this country is a good one—but it is to be observed that it is temporary not permanent. If certain liberties are given up temporarily, temporary benefits are given in lieu, that is the expense of government, of which the people bear no part, not even the tax of an excise, for it is borne by the federal government.

My object in administering the government has been to please the people as far as I could consistent with the duties I owed the federal government, having always in view their happiness. The pleasure of pleasing to me is a great one, but unmerited censure gives no pain except that of reflecting that it is drawn on me by the address of people who have not maturely thought on the subject, or have objects in view different from that of the public good

To John Sevier

Knoxville Sunday June 2d 1793

Dear Sir

By the Bearer Mr Roulstone²² I had the Pleasure of your letters as well as your friendly verbal Communications for which I return you my Thanks.— The present Bussle is very disagreeable to me and has been unquestionably raised for the Benefit on designing Persons as they hope but with proper address and Temper I hope these Disturbers will be disappointed of their object if an assembly does take place and it is my earnest wish that the People will vote for an assembly.

²²George Roulstone was editor and publisher of the *Knoxville Gazette*.

Having refered this question to the People I do not *scarcely* feel myself at liberty to call one if they determine against it— Herewith you have a Copy of a circular letters to the Colonels of the Counties which I hope will have a good effect and which you will use as you judge most proper for the Peace and Order of Government— The news Paper contains the news of this place very correctly detailed.— I believe the Cherokee Chiefs will accept the Invitation of the President to visit him at Philadelphia—Watts, the Bloody Fellow and many other Chiefs are to be at Chota today if not before to determine on that question— Your son Joseph is just sitting out with a good quantity of Linsey & other articles to take the Trade they and their Party which will be numerous bring up.— Mrs Blount has been long sitting out on a visit to her Friends in Carolina, will now *certainly* leave this on friday the 7th Instant and take Jonesboro in her way— I shall accompany her if no unforeseen Event takes place to prevent it and we will be at Jonesboro on Monday the 10th when and where I will be happy to meet you and we will talk all Things over; for the present permit me to say my friendship for you ever has been and is of the most inviable kind. [P. S.] I am without Information from the Northward almost Time immemorial I mean official

To John Sevier

Granaway's Sunday June 16th 1793

Private

Dear Sir,

Would it not be well indeed *best* for you to issue your Orders to the lower Counties and forward them by Mr Roulstoune It would seem as if they came on the spur of the Occasion.— Had you not best order Lovely as Major of Brigade to hold himself in Readiness— This would show that you are quite in earnest in going yourself and upon that being *really* believed depends the whole utility of the whole Order.—

I will be back²³ between the 1st & 10th Septr. keep Peace until that Time (my Return) and ill as Congress have behaved in neglecting to give Power to the President I flatter myself I will procure some Thing to be done for the Relief of the Fron-

²³Blount made a trip to Philadelphia, then the seat of government of the United States, where he made a plea for the adoption by the federal government of a more vigorous Indian policy in defense of the inhabitants of the southwestern frontier.

tiers, my Abilities and Exertions shall not be wanting— At the Court of Oyer I hope proper steps will be taken by yourself and other leading Characters to quiet the minds of the People.— Mr Roulstoune will teach People to believe as he comes down that he has Orders for a Campaign— I consider him entirely confidential and have thought it best he should do so

To John Sevier

Philadelphia August 28th 1793—

Dear Sir

By this Conveyance I write to the Judges a Letter which I presume they will receive at the Washington Superior Court and which I request them to shew to you not knowing how better to inform you of the State of Things here. Whatever may be the Event of Things on the Frontiers I can assure you the Exertions of General Pickens and myself in favour of those distressed People have not here been wanting.

It is here strongly hoped nay believed that the Northern Tribes will make a Peace and on that Event Wayne's Army with the aid of the Militia of the Southern Territory and others can easily chastise our perfidious Yellow Brethren to the South

All the Payrolls of your Brigade have been audited and reported on and the Payment *secured* but no Payments as Things are arranged can be made here.

Mr Allison is continued Paymaster and comes out with me in a Carriage as he is too low in Health to ride on horse. I have also the Pleasure of Major Seviere's Company and we expect to leave this on Monday and proceed on Via Richmond as fast as we can for Knoxville taking Jonesboro in our way where I count on the Pleasure of seeing you and speaking more at large

[*To John Sevier ?*]

Knoxville October 28th 1793

Dear Sir,

I find Evans's Company will be at Home until Monday next which is pay day for them at this place

It appears to me best to avoid the Charge of Partiality to them as well as to save public expence to discharge them as well as Richardson's and to that Purport I inclose you a Public Order— It will be easy to order them on duty on Monday next when they will be generally here if wanted— Short Services will show best

in the eye of the War Department that is that men are in service only when Necessity calls

To John Sevier

Knoxville, October 28th 1793—

Sir

You will please discharge Captain Evan's Company of Mounted Infantry of Knox County as well as Captain Richardson's of Greene— I hope Captain Harrisons who are to be continued in Service for the period they were called out will be sufficient enough at the different posts as mentioned to you for a few days until Richardsons & Evan's can recruit and if necessary until other companies of the same description can be called either from Hawkins Sullivan or Jefferson—

To John Sevier

Friday Morning—[1793]

Dear Sir,

Harrison's Horse are here and not to be mustered until Tuesday— There are ten Indians in the Point between Campbell's & the Garrison.— The weather is fine and open & Time enough for Harrison to go and scour the Point for those ten Indians before Tuesday— He can go as far as Campbells tonight.

To John Sevier

Knoxville January 9th 1794

Dear Sir,

I have made a Peace with the Cherokees in which I have great Faith.— The Particulars are not worth mentioning and if they were it would take more Time than I have to spare to give them.— My anxiety to see you continues unabated— I beg you to come as soon as your Health will permit.— Mr McClung²⁴ at my Request had made you Debtor for a Piece of Linnen which your son Joseph the Bearer will deliver to you.— [P. S.] You ought to write to Docr. White²⁵ to push forward the Payment of your Brigade—²⁶ General Smith & myself have both done so

²⁴Charles McClung was a lawyer, surveyor, and merchant of Knoxville. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1796.

²⁵Dr. James White of Davidson County was elected delegate from the Southwest Territory to the United States Congress on September 3, 1794.

²⁶In 1793, while Blount was on his visit to Philadelphia, the Cherokee Indians invaded the white settlements and killed settlers within a few miles of Knoxville. In

[To John Sevier]

Knoxville February 9th 1794

Dear Sir,

By your son Joseph I send you some of the most interesting Papers that I have received— By the Publication of Genet's Instructions you will see that his Conduct appears justified but the Censure falls on his Nation.— This looks as if peace would not continue with France.— By the last Post I had letters from my Brother but the Business of Congress was in such Newness that he gave me no Information as to what would be done on the many very important Subjects then.— I expect the Pleasure of seeing you here prior to the fourth Monday in this Month as I presume the Meeting of the Representatives²⁷ will not (it need not) continue above two days.— We enjoy a very unexpected degree of Peace. Good [*sic*] send it may continue.— I expect to hear from the Chiefs on the Subject of Peace in the Course of this week I mean a permanent one—

To John Sevier

Knoxville March 20th 1795

Dear Sir,

Letters from General Robertson inform that the Chickasaws have lately killed ten Creeks and made six Prisoners— Thus a war between the Creeks and Chickasaws is beyond all doubt— I am anxious for the Return of Major Evans to know what Part the United States mean to act on the occasion.— All accounts from the Cherokees promise a Continuance of Peace with them: I hope throughout the Summer.

The last Letters from Doctor White say in *positive Terms* that Sevier's Brigade will not be paid until an appropriation of money is by Congress made for that Purpose.— I hope the Doctor has offered a Bill to that effect.— Every day's experience points out in stronger Terms the necessity for a State in preference to a territorial Government.— I wish you had been in Philadelphia during this session of Congress, you certainly

violation of orders for the maintenance of a defensive policy that the United States government had issued, but with the approval of Secretary Daniel Smith who was acting-governor during Blount's absence, John Sevier led his troops in a successful offensive against the Cherokee as far to the south as the Coosa River in Georgia. Congress refused to pay Sevier's men for their services in this campaign.

²⁷The first meeting of the House of Representatives of the territorial legislature was February 24, 1794.

might have contributed to the Procuring Justice for the brave Men who had the Honor to serve under you—

General Smith is here and much hurt that the Payment has been delayed for a duty so essential to the Preservation & Happiness of the Country at the Time it was performed under his Order—

*To Isaac Shelby*²⁸

Knoxville December 21st 1795

Dear Sir,

Having a direct Conveyance by a Citizen of your State I write you

Very late Information from a full Council of the Creek Chiefs held at the Tuckabatchees and also from the lower Cherokees continue the pleasing assurances of Peace with the United States in which I place full Faith— The Creeks complain against the Georgians for lately killing seventeen of their Nation upon the Oconee River for taking a few Pumpkins & corn from the Fields when they were very hungry yet they say they will not retaliate but demand Satisfaction of the United States according to the Treaty of New York.— The Creeks are also determined to be at Peace with the Chickasaws if the Chickasaws are willing and Captain Chisholm²⁹ is now gone with overtures to that Purport from the Creek Chiefs to the Chickasaw Nation.—

Captain Chisholm is thus engaged as a Mediator between those two nations by the authority of the United States.— Having yourself once been a Citizen in this Country I am induced to believe a List of the Members of Convention³⁰ will not be unacceptable to you— I inclose you such a List so far as I have heard from the different Counties.— I also inclose you the last Number of the Knoxville Gazette

²⁸Isaac Shelby was governor of Kentucky.

²⁹John Chisholm of Blount Conspiracy fame.

³⁰Elections for delegates to the convention that framed the first constitution of the state of Tennessee were held on December 18 and 19, 1795.

THE EXECUTIVE JOURNAL OF GOVERNOR
JOHN SEVIER

Edited by SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS

(Continued from the EAST TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS, No. 1, pp. 95-153, No. 2, pp. 135-149, and No. 3, pp. 154-182.)

Knoxville, 5 April, 1798.

Sir: Yours of the 2nd Ultimo I have been honored with, and am highly pleased with the measures you and your colleagues have taken respecting the affair of Judge Campbell. I am happy to learn, that the Secretary at War gives assurances that he will expedite and forward on the treaty, as it is a thing much to be wished; the people being very uneasy and greatly distressed occasioned by their removal. It affords me much satisfaction to find that the President is so well disposed towards the interest of Tennessee; if he should continue favorable and direct the commissioners to promote as much as in them lies the interest of this State, it will so permanently place the confidence of the people in that character that his interest will for ever be dear to them. I earnestly hope that Tennessee river will be made the line, nothing short of which can possibly place the State on a footing adequate to the welfare and cultivation of its local and natural advantages.

Honorable Joseph Anderson.

Knoxville, 5 April, 1798.

Sir: Yours of the 2d Ultimo came to hand on the 28th of same month, I am much pleased with the address of yourself and colleagues to the President on the subject of Judge Campbell's arrest; it meets my entire approbation, and I think it very suitable on such an occasion. I am extremely sorry for our critical situation with France, and fear it will become much more serious. I have not had any late accounts of the Commissioners, I hope they will shortly arrive, the people are becoming very uneasy, and anxious to return in time to make crops. I am sensible our delegation is doing every thing on that score that

is within their power. I thank you, sir, for the various information you have been pleased to favour me with, and beg you will do me the honor to continue your communications on all suitable opportunities.

The Indians continue extremely friendly, and am of opinion a good treaty may be had, if our Commissioners will act well their part.

Honorable Andrew Jackson.

Knoxville, 5 April, 1798.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 9 Ultimo I had the honor to receive with a copy of your address to the President, and the Secretary of War's answer, and an extract of his letter to Colonel Butler, which was enclosed.

Permit me to observe, that your attention and prompt application to the President on the subject of Judge Campbells arrest was highly characteristic of the representatives of a free people, and meets entire approbation. I am induced to believe that there has been no mistake on the side of Judge Campbell, as to the line; having an opportunity of a more minute investigation, am inclined to think that the two officers were mistaken in supposing the Judge to be within the indian boundary.

I suppose that on an investigation it will be made appear that officers have acted contrary to their instructions, and if so Colonel Butler will be exculpated. I shall duly deliberate on the propriety of a publication of your communication to the President and the answer, observing to you at the same time, that I find it highly expedient to avoid every kind of irritation. The people removed are becoming very restless, their distress has been, and still is very great.

Some disorderly persons in Powels valley have lately killed several of the public horses, and wounded one of the soldiers, and I assure you I fear it will require considerable address to keep some of the sufferers within proper bounds.⁹¹

I am sorry to discover that our situation with France is becoming so critical, but still hope an open rupture may be avoided.

⁹¹Sevier was concerned and keeping in close touch with Col. Thomas Butler, in command of the troops of the United States Army, assembled to keep order on this frontier, as the following entry in his diary shows: "March 22: Went to Colo. Butler's camp, staid all night. 23rd: Rained; staid all night at camp with Colo. Butler. Sat. 24th: Rained and snowed and very stormy. Came back to Knoxville, etc." *Tenn. Hist. Mag.*, V, 247. See n. 64, *ante*.

We have had no late accounts of the Commissioners I hope they are on the road.⁹²

Honorable Joseph Anderson, Andrew Jackson, and William Charles Cole Claiborne.

Knoxville, 9 April, 1798.

Sir: Your favor of February 26 and March 6 came to hand on 28 March, and those of January 29 and 30, and 1 February on the 7 Instant, such is the irregularity of the post. I am sorry to find in yours of the 6 March, that our envoys are not likely to be recognized by the French republic, and their mission of course must be unsuccessful. I fear our affairs will become very serious and alarming; the message from the Directory to the Council of five hundred seem to predict it in strong light.

Conciliatory measures will be most conducive to the public interest, if we possibly can obtain such terms, but of this I have my doubts, and fear matters are too far gone.

I have heard nothing of the Commissioners coming on; the people are becoming very uneasy, and fear they will not be able to return in time to make crops. I most sincerely thank you for the various information you have seen pleased to favor me with, since you left the state, and beg to be honored with a continuance of your communications. I am in the dark as to the Natchez posts; whether the Spanish government has evacuated them or not, or likely to do it.⁹³

Honorable William Charles Cole Claiborne.

Knoxville, --- April, 1798.

Sir: I had the honor to receive yours of the 6 Ultimo, on the 28, with the copy of a letter to Lieutenant Colonel Butler, which you did me the honor to enclose.

I am perfectly satisfied that you had not given any orders despotic or inimical to the liberties of our citizens, and on the contrary that you was uninformed that any transaction of the kind had taken place until you received my letter of 6 February. I am induced to believe that the arrest of Judge Campbell was occasioned through mistake in the two subaltern officers who

⁹²See n. 84, *ante*.

⁹³Consult Andrew Ellicott's *Journal*, 173-6. The fort at Natchez was abandoned by the Spanish forces March 30, 1798.

supposed and believed him to be within the indian boundary, the line being, as I am informed, very near the place where he was found. I further have reasons to believe that it was not done in conformity of any orders given by Colonel Butler.

David Campbell, esquire, one of the Judges of our superior courts of law and equity in this state, is the person who wrote and signed the name of "Campbell" to a late publication in a Knoxville newspaper.

Permit me to say sir, that I have, and entertain, a high sense of your friendship and attachment to the interest and welfare of our state, and particularly towards our unhappy frontier settlers, who have been obliged to remove from their farms. Your readiness to relieve their sufferings, lays this government under peculiar obligations, and wish for an opportunity to repay with gratitude, the munificent and paternal services rendered them in your administration.

Suffer me to assure you, notwithstanding some unfavorable reports that have been circulated to the prejudice of the people of this Country, that if occasion should require it, you may rely with full confidence on their firm and most zealous support in opposition to any invaders, that may attempt an attack on our common country.

John Adams, Esquire,
President of the United States.

Knoxville, 12 April, 1798.

Friends and Fellow Citizens: By late accounts from the delegation of this state, I have received information that the treaty is to commence as early as possible, and particularly in time, they expect, for you to return to make your summer crops. The goods for the treaty as I am informed are now in this state, coming on to this place, and I expect that the Commissioners will arrive in a day or two. By the general government there is a large sum appropriated for the purpose of extinguishing the indian claim, and I have no doubt but it will be effected. Thus gentlemen you see the disposition of the government is to relieve your distresses; and, as such is the case, permit to recommend to you patience and fortitude, hoping, as I do, that a very short period will relieve your sufferings and reinstate you all at your homes and plantations.

I sincerely lament your sufferings, and shall always conceive it my duty, and feel a happiness in rendering you every service in my power.

The people lately removed
from Powel's valley.

Circular

Knoxville, 23 April, 1798.

Sir: So various and critical have been our American affairs, for three or four months past, I have not been able to furnish any accurate information that might be interesting and relied upon, for which reason I have delayed my communications.

With respect to European affairs they wear a very unpleasant aspect, notwithstanding the overtures made by the United States to the French nation, for an accommodation of any misunderstandings that have unfortunately taken place between the two governments; yet they refuse a recognition of our envoys, and no terms are likely to be listened to. It is to be lamented that the United States should be drove and compelled to abandon their neutrality at a time, especially, when they wish devoutly to be at peace and friendship with all the world. But should it be our unhappy lot to be impelled into the necessity of resorting to arms to defend our injured country, which I pray God to avert, I trust and sincerely hope that unanimity and an undivided sentiment will uniformly prevail amongst all ranks of Americans. I hope we shall not become the sport of foreign nations, nor the dupes of internal faction; let us be firm and permanently prepared to oppose any foreign invader that may dare to attack us.⁹⁴ It must be recent in the memories of my fellow citizens, the calamities, distresses, and irretrievable damages sustained by divisions amongst the Americans in the course of the revolutionary war. Let the past be sufficiently a caution to prevent in us any future conduct that may involve this inviolable country in all the horrors of an inhuman civil war—one of the greatest calamities that ever afflicted a nation.

George Walton, Alfred Moore, and John Steele, esquires,⁹⁵

⁹⁴The best account of this near-war with France is in J. B. McMaster's, *History of the People of U. S.*, II, 375 *et seq.* For a brief period John Adams, the president, became actually popular because of the stand he took against France.

⁹⁵Walton, one time governor of his state; Moore, afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and Steele, later prominent in Mississippi.

are appointed commissioners to hold a treaty with the indians. Walton is from Georgia, Moore from North Carolina, and Steele from Virginia, gentlemen of high respectability, and from their known patriotism and abilities, I have every reason to believe, that the interest of the western country will be deliberately and duly considered.

The federal legislature has appropriated twenty five thousand eight hundred and eighty dollars, for the purpose of the negotiation, a sum that I hope will be fully commensurate and adequate to the object, and evince to our fellow citizens the good disposition of the federal executive and legislature towards the interest and welfare of this state, and particularly in the relief of our unhappy fellow citizens, who have been compelled to remove from their homes and plantations. It is expected the treaty will commence about the middle of next month; the commissioners have not as yet arrived, but are expected in a few days. With respect to the intended treaty, I presume it will be readily conceded that the state of Tennessee is very much interested in the event, and perhaps more so than may happen in any future period. On this important occasion, it would be particularly useful and beneficial to the executive to have the aid and instruction of the legislature; but as that body cannot with conveniency be convened, and at all times attended with considerable expence, and at the present would be embarrassing to the local circumstances of the members, and also our public funds, the executive will, therefore, be under the necessity of resorting to such measures as to him may appear most likely to promote the public interest, assuring his countrymen that nothing shall be lacking that may tend and lead to their present and future advantages, so far as he may be enabled under existing circumstances.

The President of the United States has thought proper to recommend to his fellow citizens the observance of a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer; and for that purpose hath set apart Wednesday the ninth of May, requesting on that day the citizens of the United States will abstain from all worldly occupations, and offer their devout addresses to the farther of mercies, agreeably to those forms or methods they have severally adopted. It is a subject of solemn consideration, and highly essential and expedient in my opinion. I therefore

recommend and hope the inhabitants of this State will pay that due and sacred regard to the president's proclamation, that the nature of the subject may merit and require.

This letter is intended to communicate such information as I possess, and hope you will please make the same public in your neighbourhood.

Knoxville, 24 April, 1798.

Sir: The state of Tennessee perhaps will never be more interested in any event than in the present intended treaty; and, as such is inevitably the case, I feel a duty incumbent on myself to make every provision in my power in order to cause the rights of the state respected, amply supported, and her interest duly and regularly attended to. The executive considers himself bound to appoint some agents to attend the treaty, and of course it will be necessary to furnish them with moderate supplies. There is little money in the treasury here, which impels me to make application to you, praying to be informed as early as possible in what state the treasury of your district may be in, and whether or not you can furnish about one thousand dollars, or what sum can be had, in case you cannot advance the whole amount. You will readily discover the necessity and great propriety of the advance in this present emergency and crisis. Hoping and flattering myself that you will use your utmost industry to comply with the demand, which will very essentially serve the public and very greatly oblige,
Robert Searcy, esquire,
Treasurer of Mero district.

Knoxville, 24 April, 1798.

Sir: The Commissioners appointed to hold the treaty are expected here in a few days, George Walton, esquire, of Georgia, and Colonel John Steele, of Virginia, are appointed in the place of Aimes and Washington,⁹⁶ an appointment, that I hope will prove satisfactory to the people of Tennessee.

I feel myself much embarrassed on account of appointing some agents to attend the treaty, not so much with respect to

⁹⁶The Commission, as originally appointed, was composed of Moore, of North Carolina, Fisher Ames, the eminent Federalist statesman of Massachusetts, and Bushrod Washington, of Virginia. The ability of these commissioners evidenced the concern of the Federal government in the Cherokee situation in Tennessee.

them, as that of the supplies. We have no money in the treasury here, and, if we had, I am not certain that the treasurer would consider himself authorized to make any advance on my warrant. However, there is no doubt with me on that head for I think he ought. It must be conceded by every one, that will think on the subject, that the executive have an undoubted right to appoint the agents; this being the case, it necessarily implies that supplies of course ought to be furnished. I have come to the determination to try the event, without convening the Assembly, for that would cost at least double what would be necessary for the purpose of the supplies. The state will never be more interested, in my opinion in any event that may concern her, than on the present occasion; therefore, I conceive it my indispensable duty to make every exertion in my power to have every thing done that may be for the welfare of the government.

I am not determined as yet who will be the Agents, excepting yourself; could you find a freedom to serve, as one of that body, it will do me pleasure to give you the appointment; believing as I do, that it would give general satisfaction to the public and to your friends, having myself no doubt you would be useful to both. I beg, sir, you will please consider the subject, and I flatter myself you will have no objections to the undertaking of the business. Please to let me know as early as possible, and should you think proper to accept, as I trust and hope you will, you will then consider yourself as already appointed.

I have wrote to Mr. Searcy, the treasurer of your district, to be informed what monies may be in his hands, and that I shall be necessitated to draw on him for the use of the treaty, and, should it coincide with your own sentiments, please to use your influence with the treasurer, and urge him on the occasion.
General James Robertson,
Mero district.

Knoxville, 12 January, 1798.

Sir: Your esteemable letter of the 15 December Ultimo is now before me, and it is with great pleasure I observe there is a prospect of something likely to be done in favour of the unfortunate people, who have been compelled to remove from their plantations and improvements. Those distressed inhabitants

have been and are suffering very great injuries, both in their persons and properties; and, except some speedy relief is afforded, I am not able to foresee the consequences. I am constantly recommending to them patience and fortitude, notwithstanding they are becoming very restless and clamorous. In case a treaty should be set on foot, I beg leave to submit to your consideration an extinguishment of the indian claim on the north side of Clinch as low down as the mouth of Emery's river or the Cumberland road, up to the top of that mountain, and along the extreme height up to the Kentucky road—from the mouth of Clinch up the Tennessee to the Chilhowa mountain, along the extreme height thereof to the late line run by the commissioners. I mean this as a partial acquisition, in case no more could be obtained, of which you will be most capable of judging as to the propriety.

Honorable Andrew Jackson, Joseph Anderson, and William Charles Cole Claiborne, Members of Congress.

The copy of this letter was not forwarded to this office in time to be record it in its proper place.

Knoxville, 27 April, 1798.

Sir: By last mail I was honored with a letter from Secretary Pickering, enclosing the President's proclamation. In the Secretary's letter mention is made that he has furnished the agent with a number of the proclamations. Will you have the goodness to inform me whether or no you had any opportunity to send any of them to Mero, or do you know of any immediate opportunity. I wish to send a number of letters into that district of a public nature, one of the kind I do myself the honor to enclose you.

Colonel David Henley, Agent of the department of war.

Knoxville, 27 April, 1798.

Sir: I beg leave to communicate to you, in confidence, that I have it in contemplation for to send a suitable person into the Cherokee nation, in order to transact some business of importance, which will require both secrecy and address. You will much oblige me, would you undertake the mission, and knowing you can form an idea of the errand, I shall forbear saying more on the subject, only begging you will please to inform me imme-

diately, whether or not, it will be convenient for you to undertake, and if so I wish you to be prepared to set out in about ten or twelve days, and take this place in your way, where I shall furnish you with instructions, and communicate in full to you, on the business.

Colonel James Ore,⁹⁷ Grainger County.

Knoxville, 1 May, 1798.

Sir: There are daily complaints and petitions coming forward from the people of the valley, setting forth their distresses, which I believe bears very heavy on the poor people of that quarter. I am solicited by some of the inhabitants to state their case to you, and if possible to obtain some more indulgence than has hitherto been afforded. They complain that at times the conduct of some of the officers appear to be very rigorous, and much pains are taken to apprehend the poor inhabitants, who are from their indigent circumstances, and extreme wants, obliged to visit their little late farms, in order to collect and procure something to supply their families upon. I am well convinced that the general government is disposed to render those unfortunate people relief; and I am also satisfied that the critical situation of American affairs require the utmost harmony and unanimity amongst ourselves at the present day. I believe, sir, in this you will readily concur with me in opinion. Such being the case, I most earnestly hope that every favourable indulgence you can consistently with your duty will be extended towards those unhappy sufferers; their case is truly deplorable, and I do not entertain a doubt but your tenderness and humanity will cause you to sympathize for their distresses, and feel for their embarrassed situation, and render them any relief that may be in your power.

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Butler, Commanding the federal troops in the state of Tennessee.

⁹⁷Col. Ore on April 31 wrote from German Creek, where he resided and conducted a mercantile business, accepting, and promising to report at Knoxville for duty. Draper Mss., 11 DD, 134-5. On May 19 Ore wrote from Hiwassee Town of the Cherokees suggesting that assistant agents go among the Indians to assure them that they would be well fed at the treaty. *Ibid.*, no. 36. Col. Ore was one of the early settlers of Grainger county, and a forceful figure of his generation, who is deserving of a biographical sketch for these *Publications*.

Knoxville, 4 May, 1798.

Sir: I learn with regret the menaced situation of our common country. I am led to believe that every prudent and honorable means have been pursued with ardent desire for the restoration of peace and harmony, but in case those laudable intentions of accommodation should fail, and nothing but a recourse to arms must be the alternative, be assured, sir, that my cordial and utmost exertions with the good people of the state shall and will be devoted in supporting and defending our country against any invader that may dare to attack us.

Not far from this place, and on the main river Holston I have a new and well erected set of iron works,⁹⁸ suitable for the casting almost every kind of mettle, and manufacturing of bar iron; the same shall on the shortest notice be converted to any public use, that might be deemed expedient, and should be glad to be honored with any commands that might be thought necessary.
Honorable James McHenry,
Secretary of the department of war.

Knoxville, 4 May, 1798.

Sir: Your favor of the 23 March Ultimo, I have the honor to acknowledge, is duly come to hand, with the enclosed proclamation which latter has been promulgated as extensively as possible agreeably to the short time for the purpose.

I learn with regret the menaced situation of the United States; on the other hand I feel a consolation in hoping that nothing has been neglected on the part of our government to conciliate and amicably adjust any difference or complaints that have taken place. I beg you to believe, sir, that in case a war should take place between the United States and any of the European nations, that you will find us firmly disposed to lend every aid and support that may be within our power. You will please assure the President that I shall heartily and cordially together with the good people of this state cooperate in the protection of our common country.

Not far from this place and on the main river Holston, I have a valuable set of new iron works, suitable for casting of almost every kind of mettle and manufacturing of bar iron. The same

⁹⁸In Sullivan county near Kingsport, in partnership with his son-in-law, Walter King, who married Nancy Sevier, the fifth daughter, Feb. 19, 1795. Sevier's diary abounds in references to visits to these iron-works.

shall on the shortest notice if required be converted to any public use, and should be glad to be honored with any commands on that head.

Honorable Timothy Pickering,
Secretary of the department of state.

Knoxville, 8 May, 1798.

Sir: I feel real pleasure in announcing to you the happiness experienced by the people of Tennessee on a review of the choice made by the President; to conduct to Issue, which we trust, will be no less favorable in the end, than flattering in prospect, those rights of our citizens, from the enjoyment of which they have been hitherto held by the interference of indian claims.

It would be a painful and certainly an unnecessary task to examine the ground on which opinion has differed, or to retrace those causes that has produced clamour in the appointment of Commissioners. We see the means of removing every foundation of complaint, and the names to whom this mission is committed, is accepted by us as tho but testimony of the sincere wish of the Union to apply an efficient remedy to the past evils we have suffered.

In you, sir, we recognize with pleasure a mind conversant with the difficulties under which inhabitants of exposed frontiers unfailingly labour, not the least of which is missrepresentation, both of their views, and conduct. Secure as we feel from the effects this cause might otherwise produce, we see with satisfaction the management of our most important interests committed to your hands, assured that the trust can no where be more properly placed.

Accept my congratulations on your safe arrival, and also my full assurance of the most chearful cooperation and firm support in every measure that will tend to facilitate the objects of your mission.

Colonel John Steele.⁹⁹

⁹⁹In his diary Sevier wrote, Tues., May 8: "John Steele, Colo., arrived escorted into town by the light horse." Sevier promptly addressed him, trusting to win him to a view favorable to the inhabitants who had been removed from Indian lands. It was such acts as this that won Sevier his unparalleled popularity with the common folk.

Knoxville, 9 May, 1798.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 11 April Ultimo, with the paper containing the instructions to our envoys, and a copy of their dispatches which are amusing enough.

Mr Steele arrived here yesterday, Walton and Moore are daily expected; great complaints among the poor inhabitants, that have been forced from their farms and homes; their prospects for making crops is very doubtful. Your brother¹⁰⁰ is in good health and doing well. Pray write me on every opportunity, and let me know what you are all about. Tallyrand together with the Directory are great lovers of money, and understand the diplomatic negotiating business.

I take the liberty of enclosing you one of my circular letters. Honorable William Charles Cole Claiborne.

P. S. The President's late conduct towards this country has gained him much friendship, and, should he continue to manifest his regard, he will become much admired by the people.

Knoxville, 9 May, 1798.

Sir: I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of 23 March Ultimo, in which you express your uneasiness on account of the unfortunate people that has been compelled to remove; be assured sir that I do not entertain a most distant doubt of your real concern, and I feel fully convinced that both you and your colleagues have been sufficiently attentive towards those unhappy settlers' interests, and have done everything in your powers to serve them. I do most sincerely lament their condition, am extremely doubtful, that they will not be relieved in time to make crops. Mr Steele arrived here on yesterday; the other two gentlemen are expected in a day or two. I have great hopes that matters will go on well; appearances at the present are favorable. The President's late conduct towards this country has gained him much friendship, and should he continue to manifest his regard, he will be very much admired by the people. I am sorry the peace of our country is so likely to be disturbed. Should it be the case, I hope that our American

¹⁰⁰Dr. Thomas A. Claiborne, then of Knoxville. Between Sevier and the two Claibornes there was a pronounced friendship. Sevier had induced William C. C. Claiborne to come to Tennessee to practice law, had taken the young man into his home until he could locate, and he did much to further Claiborne's promotion, which was spectacularly rapid. For an evidence of this friendship, see S. C. Williams, *Beginnings of West Tennessee*, 62.

patriots will become United, and repel every insult that may be offered to the sovereignty and dignity of our nation.

Honorable Joseph Anderson.

Knoxville, 12 May, 1798.

Colonel James Ore: You will proceed from this place into the Cherokee nation; you will there endeavour to gain information from the Chiefs and others, their intentions with respect to the present intended treaty; if they intend to dispose of any of their claims to land, or not, if they be divided or unanimous either in disposing or refusing. If they mean selling, what part of country.

You will effect to be disinterested on the occasion; give no advice, except they request it, or the subject is introduced by some of their own party, on that occasion signify to them that the hunting is much diminished and is daily becoming more so; that in case the United States would engage to give them an annuity in addition to the present one that probably it might be much to their advantage, as they would get more goods in that way than they could possibly make by hunting; their old and young helpless people would be provided for; it would also prevent the young and foolish from going to war, for that would forfeit all their annuities. They claim much land, could sell a great deal and have enough left. They ought to learn to raise stocks and make crops of grain, which is by far the most profitable way of living, and the only sure way of living easy, well and becoming rich. Such is the manner in which all the machinal arts are supplied and carried on. Observe to all those that follow hunting, are always poore and few in number, and many by that practice fell into nothing and is now no more. The Creek Nation is composed of about seventeen different tribes, yet they do not the whole of them amount to five thousand warriors. I mentioned this about the Creeks because they know it to be a fact. The indian nations are as old as the white, and have been as numerous, but now there is a million of white persons to that of one indian; their peculiar practices and manner of living has been the cause; therefore, it is time for the present existing tribes to quit the old forms.

A large trading town at the Muscles Shoals would be the mak-

ing of their country;¹⁰¹ every thing can be brought there by water, and a probability that every thing would be as cheap, as at Philadelphia, or any other place. Contrast that place with Tellico, and shew them the advantage the Shoals would have by suffering every body to carry on trade at a place where every thing would be received for goods, and not confined to skins and furs; those articles would soon be done away, what then will be their condition if other arrangements are not made to receive such things as they can make and raise in their country? If a town was settled at the Shoals, in the room of one store, there might soon be several hundred, and every one trying to sell lowest; their country is well suited for raising stocks and grain, and the present race had better enjoy the fruits of those advantages, and make the best of it now than to leave it to the chance of their posterity, who may be foolish and loose it all. It is the duty of the old and leading men to leave those that stay behind them, in as safe a condition as possible, and not grasp, to hold too much, for fear they may lose all. The earth is the mother of all people; the great being above made it for all men, and they will all have a share of it.

By the law of nations, it is agreed that no people shall be entitled to more land than they can cultivate. Of course no people will sit and starve for want of land to work, when a neighbouring nation has much more than they can make use of. Convince them by argument the great propriety of always being in friendship with the people of this quarter, for on such depends their success or ruin. Impress them with an idea, that whoever advises them to hold a large tract of country, and live by, and follow hunting, are their enemies, and will in the end cause them to be totally ruined. Endeavour to persuade them that the Point,¹⁰² or Mouth of Holston is the most suitable for the treaty; the Point I prefer.

The foregoing are the outlines of your mission, but the principal and sole object is for you to prepare them for as an extensive disposal of their claim, as can be possibly obtained. Recommending to you to be as private on the occasion, as the

¹⁰¹Sevier did not easily give over old-time plans for the development of the country in the Big Bend of Tennessee River, in North Alabama. See S. C. Williams, *Lost State of Franklin*, 13, 176. Col. Z. Coxe was in this year, 1798, arrested at Natchez because of a violation of law in trying to settle the country of the Bend.

¹⁰²Southwest Point, at the junction of Clinch and Tennessee rivers.

nature of the object will admit, making use of all necessary caution and circumspection the importance of your business will necessarily require. The observations which are stated for you to make, as you will discover, are intended to prepare them for the primary object. They are truths, and notwithstanding intended for to answer peculiar purposes to this state, but will prove in the end, if attended to by the indians, the very salvation of that nation.

Knoxville, 13 May, 1798.¹⁰³

Sir: Yours of the 6th Instant, I have been duly honored with, and while I am much pleased with your acceptance of the appointment of Agent, I regret much your indisposition, but hope it will not be so obstinate as to prevent your attendance on the treaty. Colonel Steele one of the Commissioners have arrived; Walton is expected tomorrow or next day, we have not had any certain accounts of Moore.

I understand that a time for the commencement of the treaty cannot be fixed, until more than one Commissioner arrives, as soon as I am informed with certainty of the time and place, I shall advise you immediately; in the mean time you will please hold yourself in readiness, to set out on the shortest notice.

I beg you will please to urge Mr. Searcy, the treasurer to provide some money. Unless he supplies me with some of that article, I fear I shall not be able to get any for the purpose of the treaty.

General James Robertson,
Mero District.

Knoxville, 13 May, 1798.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 6 Instant. You have justly observed that the present crisis is a very important one to the state. I assure you, in no instance in my opinion it will ever be more essentially concerned than in the event of the present intended treaty. Permit me, sir, to solicit your earnest exertions to procure for the use of the treaty the thousand dollars, which in my former letter, I stated to be necessary; if it should not be convenient for you

¹⁰³This letter was printed as a part of the Robertson Correspondence in *Amer. Hist. Mag.*, IV, 356.

to raise that amount, endeavour to furnish as large a sum as may be in your power. Should I fail in receiving a supply from you, I know of no other recourse. Colonel Steele one of the Commissioners have arrived several days since, Walton is expected to-morrow, we have had no accounts from Moore.

Robert Searcy esquire
Treasurer of Mero District

Knoxville, 14 May, 1798.

Sir: Viewing the importance of the present intended treaty, and the manner in which this state is so materially and essentially concerned and interested, I have deemed it necessary and highly expedient to appoint three Agents to attend the same, in behalf of this state. I have proceeded to appoint two (to wit) General James Robertson and Major Lachlan McIntosh,¹⁰⁴ and for the third have taken the liberty to nominate yourself, should you think proper to serve in that capacity. I make no doubt your appointment will be very satisfactory to your fellow citizens in general, as also to myself and your other friends. Should you think proper to serve you will please signify the same to me as soon as possible, also your attendance at this place will be expected so soon as you can conveniently prepare for attending the treaty, which is supposed will be held either at South West Point, or Tellico Blockhouse.

Colonel Steele only, has as yet arrived, the other two Gentlemen are daily expected.

James Stewart, esquire,
Washington District.

Knoxville, 18 May, 1798.

Sir: It affords me pleasure to announce to you the general satisfaction experienced in this state on your appointment. The inhabitants of Tennessee feel on this occasion but one sentiment, an entire approbation of the executive choice.

¹⁰⁴Lachlan McIntosh, Jr., who had just come to Tennessee from Georgia and was advanced for appointment by ex-governor and Senator William Blount. "Major McIntosh will also be appointed. I wish you would take some pains to render this appointment acceptable to the people, especially to members of the General Assembly. Besides his being a man of talents and information as appears by his writings, he will have much influence with Mr. Walton. I think his appointment highly proper and that it will prove satisfactory to the State." Blount to Robertson, May 14. *Am. Hist. Mag.*, VI, 353. Three were to attend as Tennessee's agents to represent that commonwealth's interests before the national commission.

They see a share in management of their most important interests committed to your hand, with assurance that this trust can no where be better placed. Your uniform exertions, in public life, to vindicate the rights of the too much neglected inhabitants of the frontier is accepted by them as proof that this solicitude will be coextensive with appointment.

The interference of claims between the Citizens of this state and the adjacent tribes of indians has certainly been a source of much uneasiness; at length we see the adjudgment of this truly important trust committed to men whose names we receive as unequivocal proof of the sincerity of government to apply an efficient remedy to the past evils we have suffered.

Accept my congratulations, on your safe arrival to this place, and fullest assurance of my most chearful co-operation and firm support in whatever may tend to facilitate the objects of your mission.

George Walton, esquire.

Knoxville, 20 May, 1798.

Gentlemen: Presuming from the nature of the appointment, that two of the Commission are adequate to assume the functions of that trust, with which you are charged, I feel it a duty impressed on me to suggest to you the public wish in favour of such points, as seem most eligible to become the scene of your negotiations.

We are taught to believe that the lattitude of choice is in some measure confined to Tellico, Belle Canton,¹⁰⁵ and South West Point. Assumeing on this belief, suffer me to suggest to you such reasonings, as from my knowledge of indian habits, and more correct of the geography of that country (the acquirement of which seems to be at once both the object, and end of your mission) in support of the last, and which will apply with equal force to oppose the two first.

We believe the approaching treaty commenced at the instance of the state of Tennessee, and that it has for its primary object the removal of inconveniences thrown on her inhabitants by missionaries, to whom it was committed to designate the boundaries separating the two people.

¹⁰⁵Bell Canton was on the site of the present Lenoir City.

In this view of the subject, some attention may perhaps be thought due to the general wish, where it is unopposed by more weighty considerations. Let it be added that the experience of ages to the belief that soil is with difficulty obtained in the rear of ground on which indians treat, whilst they yield without much reluctance to that point. South West point is situated at the confluence of the rivers Tennessee and Clinch, and is yet within the unextinguished limits of the indian hunting grounds; the line passing up the right bank of the Tennessee leaves the confluence of the Holston with that river within the indian boundary. The Holston and Clinch rivers, with the various streams falling into them, have their passage thro far the most populous settlements of the state; to enjoy their communication with the parent stream, by which they communicate with each other, will readily suggest itself to you, and is of the utmost importance to their happiness.

At present the wants of one part of the state cannot be supplied with the redundancies of another without the delay of passports, and instances are not wanting of the most capricious detention, calculated only to fret the general tranquility. My present purpose is not to complain of the past, but to afford every aid to what I believe will be your endeavour to remove future inconveniences.

Should any weight be attached to the facility of supplies, or the conveniences of removeing the goods destined for the treaty, the preference of a water, to land carriage, as opposed to Tellico admits of no comment; it is also calculated to remove all misunderstandings as to future construction of intended lines, as every object which negotiation can embrace as to bounds will be under your immediate view.

George Walton & John Steel, esquires,
Commissioners on the part of the
United States, to treat with the Cherokees.

Knoxville, May 31st, 1798.

Sir: In obedience to your instructions to me of the 12th, I immediately proceeded to the Cherokee nation by way of South West Point, to execute the same as far as was in my power, to this place yesterday by way of Tellico Blockhouse. The towns I visited were Hiwassee, Chistooee, Shoemach, Estanaula and

Amuchcha where there was a general ball play at which were the principal chiefs of the nation, namely, John Watts, Bloody Fellow, Dick Justice, Glass, Taulontiska, Cabin, Chuleoah or Creek Linguister, Kittagisha, the Jobber's son, the Badger, the Standing Turkey, James Vann and other Chiefs, and a great majority of the most influential warriors, making the whole about seven hundred and fifty. The chiefs of the most note, who were not there, were the Little Turkey and Double Head. My ostensible business was the transaction of my own private business as was understood by your Excellency before my departure, tho' I kept constantly in view the object of your instructions, and did whatever was in my power, in an informal or indirect way to forward the object of the approaching treaty, to wit, to induce the indians to attend the call or invitation to the Commissioners of the United States to a treaty and to sell a part of their land for a valuable consideration which I presumed would be offered to them.

After I left South West Point the first indian house I arrived at was Arthur Coody's¹⁰⁶ one of the interpreters with whom I stayed one day, and found him well disposed, and preferred the Point as the place for the treaty. The next day I saw Tuskegatahee, the Woman Holder and the Hare (Tarrapine) Chiefs of the second order, and about thirty warriors. I had much free conversation with them, and they appeared well disposed to the object of the treaty. At the Shoemach I saw and conversed with Clem Vann, a white trader, two Fallings, half breeds, who spoke English and young men of pretty good information. They said a number of chiefs, (not at a public council) had consulted together at Estanaula on their return from Tellico when the nation received the annuity, where it was agreed the treaty should be held at Estanaula. James Vann, a half breed, lives near this town, who from his wealth and extensiveness of his trade, together with his ability, has become a leading character, and is daily growing into consequence and importance in his nation. I was at his House three days, during which time several Chiefs and warriors visited him. Rum was given out freely, and of which he himself drank freely. I embraced this occasion to collect his sentiments; he was much opposed to the treaty being held at Tellico, and in favour of Estanaula, his

¹⁰⁶For Coody, see S. C. Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, 235.

opposition to Tellico proceeded from an opposition to the public store at that place, which he considered a great injury to his nation; he would prefer the Point or any other place to Tellico; he is opposed to a large sale of land, but appeared disposed to sell a lesser quantity to accommodate citizens of the United States resident in Tennessee. I repeat that he is a man of consequence and of rising importance. From James Vann's I proceeded with him to the Ball play at Amuchcha, forty miles from his house on our way we fell in with a large party of the Ball Players of the upper towns, and stayed with them one night, and next day I left them and passing the Ball play grounds I joined the players of the lower towns and returned with them to the play. This Ball play took place on Friday the 25th Instant. As I have before observed the principal Chiefs whose names I have before given, and others, and a great majority of the most influential warriors were at it. This afforded a very good opportunity for the objects of my mission as before stated, and I improved it to the best of my abilities. The Chiefs, however, notwithstanding my efforts to draw forth their sentiments appeared very tacit and reserved, which I attributed to a report in circulation among the warriors that they (the Chiefs) were to be bribed to sell lands. Watts, to my suggestions as to the little value of the lands adjacent to the white settlements, said that if the young warriors wanted to hunt Rabbits they might be opposed to the sale of those lands; he appeared very friendly in all his conduct and conversation. Late in the day of the Ball play Mr. Dinsmoore¹⁰⁷ appeared, collected the Chiefs and informed them he had the day before received a dispatch from the Commissioners at Knoxville directing him to inquire of them at what time it would be convenient for them and the warriors to meet the Commissioners in treaty. The Chiefs answered on the 14th June and added, as the Commissioners had referred the time to them, they considered they had a right to fix the place and named Estanaula as the place. To this Mr. Dinsmoore replied that his business as Agent was distinct from the powers of the Commissioners; he had no right to agree to the place offered reasons against Estanaula; the Chiefs appeared determined and said they supposed land was the object; Dinsmoore said it was. The Chiefs again said the object was

¹⁰⁷Silas Dinsmore, agent of the Federal government to the Cherokees.

with the Commissioners; it was to buy their lands, and when they (the Chiefs) had business in view they never thought any distance too far to effect it; they supposed the Commissioners would come there. Mr. Dinsmoore concluded by remarking that he was to see the Commissioners on the 29th at Belle Canton.

I had many conversations with Chiefs and warriors as I had great opportunities for, as well when they drank water as when they drank spirits, keeping always in view the object of my mission, most if not all of which were too loose and desultory to bear particular recital, but my opinion founded upon such information as I collected is, that with proper men and measures the Chiefs and warriors would agree to a Treaty at the Point, and that an advantageous purchase of land may be made. Tellico-Blockhouse is particularly offensive to a great number of the influential men of the nation. They say the goods sold there are old and rotten, hardly bear a second washing, and that they receive but a small price for their skins. Upon further inquiry I do not discover that it is certain that the British or French have not sent letters to the Cherokees. Such a report however prevails. Upon this visit to the nation I discover the number of the Cherokees is much lessened within a few years. It is accounted for by their emigrations to the west of the Mississippi and it is said many more contemplate going.¹⁰⁸ In treaties with indians it is generally believed that it is the Chiefs who sell lands; and, however true it may have been heretofore, my opinion is on the present occasion no lands will be purchased without the consent of the warriors. The Chiefs are governed by them, especially in the sale of lands; and if lands are to be purchased too much attention cannot be paid to the warriors; that is, the most leading of them. Great complaint is made that lately at Tellico Blockhouse notice has been taken only of Chiefs and that none others were allowed provisions.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's

most obedient servant

His Excellency, John Sevier

JAS ORE

¹⁰⁸The earliest of these migrations, of which we can speak assuredly, was of small bands of dissatisfied Cherokees to St. Francis River in Arkansas, then Spanish territory, shortly after the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785. Later they removed to lands lying between the Arkansas and White rivers, where in 1803 they came under the jurisdiction of the United States. Another considerable migration occurred in 1794 or 1795, led by Chief The Bowl. Yet earlier western migrations of the Cherokees, of

Knoxville, 1 June, 1798.

Gentlemen: Messieurs Samuel Handley,¹⁰⁹ Thomas Galliher, David Coldwell and Alexander Ford are a deputation from the people lately removed from their farms, from what is called indian lands. The object of their mission is to lay before you the distressed situation of those unfortunate people who have been compelled to remove, with a hope and solicitude that you will render them some relief if in your power, of which I have no doubt will be the case.

The Commissioners on the part of the United States, to treat with the Cherokees.

Knoxville, 2 June, 1798.

Gentlemen: I hope I may be pardoned for being so inquisitive respecting the approaching treaty. The state of Tennessee being so materially concerned in the event, I hope will sufficiently appologize for the inquiry I am about to make. It is a request to be informed when and where the intended treaty is to be held; having to make some arrangements on the part of the state increases my solicitations on this occasion.

The Honorable, The Commissioners, on the part of the United States to treat with the Cherokees.

Knoxville, 6 June, 1798.

Sir: The Commissioners have requested the indians to meet them near Tellico Blockhouse on the 25th Instant, and it is supposed that the treaty will be held at or near that place.

I have thought it would be proper for the Agents to attend at this place on the 20th Instance, at which time you will please give your attendance, in order that you may receive further instructions, and deliberate together on the business of your Agency.

James Robertson, James Stewart
& Lachlen McIntosh, esquires, on
the part of the state of Tennessee
to attend the Treaty with the Cherokees.

which there were doubtless some, are shrouded in tradition. See John Howard Payne Mss., Ayres Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁰⁹For Handley, see Ramsey's *Annals*, *passim*.

Knoxville, 11 June, 1798.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 25th Ultimo, which come to hand on the 9th Instant, with the two papers enclosed.

I fear this will not find you in Philadelphia; therefore, shall be much shorter than I should otherwise have been. I believe with you, that a war with France is inevitable, and also hope with you, should it be the case, that the American people will have good sense enough to avoid division. Be assured, sir, it shall be my earnest study to have a perfect unanimity among the people in this quarter, and do not entertain a doubt but it will be easily effected.

I am sorry so much division still appears in the House of Representatives. Surely if a war is likely to take place, such violent opposition ought to be at an end, and all unite in a common defence of their country. I have read the instructions to the envoys, and think them fully ample and commensurate to every reasonable demand that could be made by the French. Also I have with much pleasure perused the communications and think our envoys' address, of the 18th of January, masterly and unanswerable, and must be satisfactory to every impartial reader.

I observe much opposition to the raising of a regular army; I need not observe to you, or any other military Character, how inadequate a militia only will be to the protection of our country against invasions of regular armies. If America became invaded, and militia only to oppose the enemy, I shall fear very much the protection of the country will be a feeble one indeed—permit me to observe, that in case a war actually takes place, however disagreeable and burdensome regular armies may be, they must inevitably be resorted to, for the efficient and permanent protection of our country.¹¹⁰

Honorable Joseph Anderson.

Knoxville, 11 June, 1798.

Sir: Your two favours of the 16 and 24 Ultimo I had the pleasure to receive on the 9 Instant, also four enclosures of

¹¹⁰This letter and the following are instructive as to Sevier's attitude towards an army made up of militia, in a struggle against regulars of France. He had led militia and volunteers in the Revolution and the Indian wars.

Gazettes and pamphlets. I am doubtful this will not find you in Philadelphia; therefore, shall only write you a short letter. You are pleased to ask my opinion of your envoys' address to the French republic. I will give it you in a few words, that it is a production of talents, a general knowledge of National affairs, an ample and compleat justification of the Executive conduct, and unanswerable by the French Directory; these are my sentiments.

I discover you have much division in your house, respecting the mode of protection, either by an army of regulars or militia. You will readily grant I ought to be acquainted with the mode of Militia warfare, and also you know how highly that very valuable class of Citizens stand in my estimation. On the whole I believe that the American Militia are the bravest and most intrepid in the world; but after giving them all the credit that can be due, innumerable and conclusive objections may be stated that they are not a force by any means sufficient to protect our country against the invasions of regular armies; and suffer me to say that, if attacked by the French, and our opposition is to be by militia only, our expectations of defence will be illusive, vain, and visionary. Should the Ten of Twenty thousand regular troops be raised, as contemplated by some, I shall then have my doubts. Such an army, together with the aid of our militia, would be inadequate to an efficient protection. Permit me to say that, should a war take place, however disagreeable and burdensome regular armies may be, they must inevitably be immediately resorted to, for the protection and safety of the country. I have seen the instructions to the envoys, and so far as I am able of judging they are ample and commensurate to every reasonable claim, that could be made by France.

Honorable William Charles Cole Claiborne.

Knoxville, 11 June, 1798.

Sir: I do myself the honor to acknowledge I have received your favour of the 25 Ultimo, with the several pamphlets therein enclosed. I have read the whole with pleasure, and am perfectly satisfied our government have discovered every reasonable disposition suitable for the purpose of re-establishing that friendship and harmony that a former period existed in so great a degree between the United States, and the French nation. I trust

and earnestly hope the measures, which have been taken by the Executive of the United States, will be deemed by the good people of America ample and highly proper and becoming the dignity of our American government. I beg leave to repeat that you may confidently depend that I shall use every means in my power to evince to the people of this state the great necessity of their united exertions, in defence of their country; and with great pleasure I do assure you I have not the smallest doubt, in case America should become invaded, that the people of Tennessee will unanimously be firm and alert in defending their country from the attacks and invasion of any foreign power whatever.

Permit me, sir, to solicit the honor of your communications on such matters as may be deemed proper to impart, touching the safety and interest of the United States.

Honorable Timothy Pickering, Secretary
of the department of State.

Knoxville, 20 June, 1798.

Dear Sir: Yours of the first instance I had the pleasure to receive the sixteenth. Some considerable time since, I called on Colonel Henly to be informed what measures had been taken respecting the muster rolls of the Nickajack expedition.¹¹¹ His answer was, that they had been forwarded to the Secretary of war's office, and that he had wrote him where they could be found. I suppose he has informed me candidly; it has not been in my power to apply a second time to Colonel Henly since I received your letter, but I will shortly do so, and inform you his answer. I am sorry that a war cannot be avoided; but, if it must be the case, I hope sincerely that our Americans will be unanimous in defending our country; division will ruin us, and it must be avoided.

Some of the Indian Chiefs have arrived at Tellico, and more daily expected, and as the Commissioners are all present I apprehend the negotiations will soon commence. All is peace in this country, and a prospect of fine crops.

Honorable William C. C. Claiborne.

¹¹¹Of September, 1794, Gen. James Robertson, of Mero District, and Maj. James Ore, of Washington District, being the leaders in the successful campaign.

Knoxville, 24 June, 1798.

Dear Sir: I received your favour of the 17 instant on the 23rd and learn with much regret that you have not received my letter. I wrote some considerable time past by a Colonel Jones, who promised me that the same should have a sure and speedy conveyance; I did not entertain the smallest doubt, but Mr. Jones would be as good as his promise, he knowing the contents, which was requesting your attendance at this place on the 20th Instant. If this should arrive before you have set out, let me entreat of you to come forward as speedily as possible to this place. To-morrow is the day appointed for the Indians to meet at Chota, and the treaty I expect will open in the course of this week, tho' I expect the Indians will be somewhat tardy in coming forward. Pray use your influence with Mr. Searcy to send forward some money.

General James Robertson,
Mero District.

Knoxville, 24 June, 1798.

Sir: It is some considerable time since I wrote you a second letter on the subject of raising some money for the use of our Agents at the treaty. As I have received no answer to my second, I am much at a loss to know what I may depend upon. I shall be very much embarrassed, indeed, if you have it not in your power to furnish me with the thousand dollars, or considerable part, in fact any part will be of great utility, and never will in my opinion be of more essential service. Pray afford every assistance in your power, and send it forward as soon as possible. Whatever sum you may send forward, I will give a warrant and receipt for, to Mr. Maclin or any other person you may choose to receive the same on your behalf.

Robert Searcy, esquire, public
treasurer Mero District.

Knoxville, 25 June, 1798.

Gentlemen: I am honored this day with yours of the 21st Instant. It affords me much pleasure to be informed that the Indians are about to assemble; hoping, as you have been pleased to suggest, that the treaty will shortly commence, and also, should the objects of your mission be accomplished, I have not

a doubt remaining that nothing will be left undone by the Commissioners to designate the boundary in such a manner as to place it beyond the possibility of misconstruction. I flatter myself, with great hope, you will have a successful negotiation, and that the distressed people which have been removed will very shortly be permitted to return to their farms and habitations. The Honorable, The Commissioners on the part of the United States, to treat with the Cherokees.

Knoxville, 28th June, 1798.

Dear sir: Yours of the 8th Instant, I was honored with on the 24th. I learn with surprize you have not received any letters from me, for I beg you to be assured that I write to you and Mr. Claiborne by almost every post, with few exceptions, since you set out for Congress.

The treaty is just about to commence; the prospects appear favorable, and I have no doubt a good treaty may be obtained if desired by the Commissioners; the people are still kept off their plantations, and the measures against them are as rigorous as formerly, a conduct very contrary to my expectations, as also every other person, a misfortune I am extremely sorry for; and I assure you it begins to lessen the people's confidence in the government beyond calculation, and nothing but a good treaty, in my opinion, will ever regain that confidence, the people, a very short time since, so fully placed in the government. I have done every thing in my power to quiet the minds of the people, assuring them that I had every reason to believe that the government would afford them every kind of relief in the most speedy and ample manner; their patience is worn out, and the enemies to government are in an indirect manner making no little use of the oppertunity to sour the minds of the people.

The emigration throughout the whole winter and spring to this country, is beyond the most sanguine expectation.
Honorable Joseph Anderson.

Knoxville, 4 July, 1798.

Dear Sir: No mail from Philadelphia last week, the stopage of the mail between Staunton and this place has become very frequent, and it seems useless to complain with any expectation of its being remedied, tho' the abuse is too great to be suffered. It

is a fact that one half of the papers and letters come to hand so late that we pay the postage for nothing; and another evil, I believe the half of the letters to and from this place neither comes or goes safe to hand.

The Indians comes in but slow to the treaty, tho' I am of opinion there will a great many attend after some time, nothing as yet is done in treaty. The people removed has obtained a few days to reap their grain, which has been suffering for the want of cutting.

Honorable Joseph Anderson and
William C. C. Claiborne.

Knoxville, 4th July, 1798.

Gentlemen: Having appointed you as Agents on the part of this State, to attend the ensuing treaty now about to be held between the United States and the Cherokee Indians, you will therefore please to repair to Tellico Blockhouse, at which place you will be on the sixth Instant prepared to attend the negotiations at whatever point they may open.

It will be impossible to instruct you in the minutia of those interests, to which you are called to attend; as an outline, you will understand the State to require as extensive an extension of the indian claim north of the Tennessee, as may be obtained.

The communication of the Holston and Clinch with the Tennessee, and the right hand of the last river from our Southeast boundary to its confluence with the Clinch, are points to which you will direct your attention, as also to secure from future molestation the settlements so far as they have progressed on the northern and western borders of the state. The connecting the districts of Mero and Hamilton now separated by a space of unextinguished hunting grounds of near eighty miles in width, will be considered by you Gentlemen as an object of great importance, as the inconveniences resulting from the present state of our settlements must be obvious to every mind conversant with the geography of the country, and is certainly too irksome to be continued, when the facts are fairly represented.

Among your duties will be an examination of the ground of the Cherokee claim, either as derived from original rights, or founded on treaties; and, if on investigation you shall find such right settle into a mere temporary use, antecedant to the Holston treaty, it may perhaps be proper to question the constitu-

tionality of that measure, that prostrated the guaranteed rights of the whole state, and to shew the Act of Cession, operative on the government prior to this treaty.

In all appointments however of this kind much must necessarily be left discretionary, and perhaps there is no instance where that discretion must be suffered to assume a wider range than on the present occasion. Accept the assurances of my belief that it cannot be better placed, and will in no instance be used more to the advantage of the state you represent.

I trust it is unnecessary to remind you that your duties, and your objects, will be so connected with the Commissioners on the part of the United States, that you will yield every thing of the interest and dignity of the State you represent to preserve yourselves well with them. Please advise me frequently of the features your negotiations assume.

Roads opened from this state, to any of the adjacent ones, and to settlements in various parts of our own State, will be of much utility and convenience, and also to have the privilege of the unmolested navigation of all rivers and waters within the chartered bounds of the State, and particularly to obtain, where it may be necessary, suitable ports for deposit, and carrying places from river to river, so as to facilitate, and make easy as possible the import and exportation of all the articles necessary for the commercial intercourse of the state.

You will please engage some suitable person to supply you with necessary stores for your support during your attendance at the treaty, and for the discharge of the same I will grant a warrant or warrants on the treasury for the necessary sum to be expended on that occasion, which is to be understood not to exceed in the whole expedition relative to the objects of your agency, one thousand dollars.

Wishing you every success compatible with the interest of the state.

James Robertson, James Stewart,
Lachlan McIntosh, esquires.

NEWS AND NOTES*

During the past year the East Tennessee Historical Society had three meetings outside of Knoxville. The annual banquet was held at Maryville College in Maryville, January 9, 1931, the members being guests of the College faculty. A delicious dinner was served by the Department of Home Economics. A welcome address was made by Dr. Ralph W. Lloyd, president of the College. Mr. V. M. Queener made the principal address of the evening, his subject being "William G. Brownlow as an Editor." Dean J. D. Hoskins gave an account of the preservation of the Blount Mansion. Brief talks were made by Dr. Marguerite B. Hamer, president of the Society, Miss Zella Armstrong, and Dr. P. M. Hamer. On the recommendation of the nominating committee, with Miss Fay McMillan as chairman, the following officers were elected for the coming year: Dr. Marguerite B. Hamer, president; Dr. W. B. Hesseltine, vice-president; Miss Laura Luttrell, secretary; Miss Mary U. Rothrock, treasurer; and Professor V. M. Queener, elective member of the executive committee.

The Society had the honor of participating in the unveiling of two historic markers at Kingsport on the afternoon of June 18. Judge Samuel C. Williams delivered an address at the dedication of the monument at the site of Fort Robinson, near Rotherwood bridge across the Holston River, and Mr. Thomas W. Preston made an address at the unveiling of the marker upon the Netherland Inn, a notable tavern of stage coach days. The bronze tablets were made and donated by the Kingsport Foundry and Manufacturing Company. A dinner meeting of the Society was held in the evening at the Kingsport Inn. Mr. E. W. Palmer served as toastmaster. Special music was an enjoyable feature. Prof. R. N. Robinson, Judge Williams, and Mr. Preston made historical addresses. Brief talks were made by Dr.

* Most of these news items have been prepared by Miss Laura Luttrell. Information for the note on Tennesseans in the *Dictionary of American Biography* was compiled by Miss Mary Cohron, Fellow in History at The University of Tennessee.

Marguerite B. Hamer, Dean J. D. Hoskins, Miss Mary U. Rothrock, Miss Laura Luttrell, and Dr. P. M. Hamer. Bronze ash trays were presented to Judge Williams and to Mr. Preston.

The November meeting of the Society was held at Chattanooga in the chapel of the University of Chattanooga. Following a musical program, Dr. Alexander Guerrey, president of the University, made a welcome address. Dr. W. B. Hesseltine, vice-president of the Society, introduced the speaker, Judge Samuel C. Williams, who read a sketch of the life of "Nathaniel Gist, Father of Sequoyah." A reception in honor of Judge Williams was held in the University commons. Refreshments were served by a committee of local members of the Society.

The C. M. McClung Award of fifty dollars for the best contribution, by a non-officer of the Society, to the Society's *Publications* for 1931 was won by Professor W. B. Hesseltine for his article on "Methodism and Reconstruction in East Tennessee." The judges were Professors W. C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University, W. O. Lynch of Indiana University, and St. George L. Sioussat of the University of Pennsylvania.

A statue of John Sevier, first governor of Tennessee, was unveiled in Statuary Hall of the Capitol, Washington, District of Columbia, April 19, 1931. The Tennessee State Monument and Memorial Commission was aided in erecting the statue by the Tennessee Daughters of the American Revolution. Miss Belle Kinney and Leopold Scholtz were the sculptors. Mrs. Joseph H. Acklen, state regent of the Tennessee D. A. R., presided at the dedication ceremonies. Judge John H. DeWitt, of Nashville, made the dedicatory address. The figure was unveiled by descendants of John Sevier, Miss Embree Hoss Headman and Mr. Fenton Gentry, both of whom made brief speeches. The statue was accepted, in behalf of the United States government, by Mr. F. T. Davison, Assistant Secretary of War, who spoke for President Hoover. Brief addresses were made by prominent members of the D. A. R.: Mrs. Lowell Fletcher Hobart, Mrs. Flora M. Gillentine, Mrs. J. H. Acklen, Mrs. R. S. Boyd and Mrs. S. M. Arnell.

A monument commemorating the founding of a Cherokee Indian mission on Sale Creek, near Chattanooga, by Rev. Gideon Blackburn, was dedicated September 20 under the general direction of Miss Zella Armstrong of Chattanooga. This year marked the 125th anniversary of the establishment of the mission in 1806. Representatives of seventeen Presbyterian churches and of the patriotic societies of Hamilton County and a number of members of the East Tennessee Historical Society were in attendance at this ceremony. The monument was furnished by the Tennessee State Department of History.

The Governor William Blount Mansion Association has planned a series of lectures on Tennessee History to be given at the Blount Mansion during the winter months. The subjects selected are: The Watauga Settlement; The State of Franklin; Tennesseans at King's Mountain; The Territory South of the River Ohio; The Cherokee Indians; General James White; Charles McClung; General Henry Knox. Among the speakers will be Dr. P. M. Hamer, Dr. Marguerite B. Hamer, General W. T. Kennerly, Mr. E. E. Patton and General Charles T. Cates.

An elm tree, which will be dedicated at the bi-centennial of the birth of George Washington in February, has been planted on the grounds of the Blount Mansion. Many of the D. A. R. chapters throughout the state are planting elm trees.

Fort Nashborough, the original settlement of Nashville, is being rebuilt on land given by the city of Nashville. The four D. A. R. chapters, Cumberland, Campbell, Colonel Thomas McCrory and General James Robertson, are sponsoring the reproduction of this fort, and the money is being given by the State of Tennessee, Davidson County and the city of Nashville. Four bronze tablets are to be placed within the fort.

The great Indian War Path through Polk County was marked at Benton, by Ocoee Chapter, D. A. R., October 12, 1931. Mr. J. D. Clemmer, of Benton, made an historical address at the unveiling of the marker.

A marker was unveiled, June 15, 1931, in McMinn County, at

the grave of Isaac Lane, a lieutenant at the Battle of King's Mountain. The local chapter of the D. A. R. placed the marker.

Near Cookeville, a monument was dedicated, June 28, 1931, to Major William P. Quarles, a Revolutionary officer who died in 1815. Old Walton Road chapter, D. A. R., sponsored the unveiling. Addresses were made by three descendants of the officer: Dr. Walter S. McClain, General Ernest H. Boyd, and Major James T. Quarles.

Dr. Joseph Rogers Walker, grandson of Joseph Rogers, founder of Rogersville, celebrated his 100th birthday, August 24, 1931. He graduated from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1854. As a physician and surgeon during the Civil War he had varied and unusual experiences.

Montvale Springs in Blount County, as a watering place for vacationists, is one hundred years old. Mr. Ludwig Pflanze, the proprietor of the Montvale Springs Hotel, is desirous of securing information for a history of the Springs. He will appreciate it if those who have such information will communicate it to him.

A newcomer among historical publications in the South is the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Record*, the first number of which is to be issued in January, 1932, under the editorship of Mr. Clarence Griffin, Forest City, North Carolina. It will be "devoted to the publication of local history articles pertaining to all of North Carolina counties, unpublished manuscripts and letters, and genealogical material."

An ambitious undertaking, of interest and value to all historians, is the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Seven volumes, containing biographical sketches of persons whom the editors have deemed worthy of inclusion, from A to G, have been published. Other volumes will be issued until the completed work will consist of more than twenty volumes. Sketches of the following Tennesseans have appeared in the first seven volumes: John Adams (1825-1864), Confederate army officer; James Patton Anderson (1822-1872), Confederate soldier, surgeon, editor,

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